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FORT JESUP—FORT SELDEN—CAMP SABINE—CAMP SALUBRITY

Four Forgotten Frontier Army Posts of Western Louisiana

By J. FAIR HARDIN

Lieut. Col., J. A. G., Louisiana National Guard

INTRODUCTION

THE story of the four frontier army posts of Fort Selden, Fort Jesup, Camp Sabine and Camp Salubrity, located in the present parishes of Natchitoches and Sabine, in western Louisiana, will be told, not because they are most important in the State, but because they and their contribution to the history of Louisiana have been so completely ignored in the writing of that history. They are interesting and important because they are typical of the history of their period. There was nothing spectacular in their history, yet in the brief span of twenty-six years of active military existence, they were the scenes of, or associated with, important military and diplomatic events in the history of the southwestern frontier of the nation. Born of the definite establishment of one frontier, they passed out of existence only after they had contributed toward the establishment of that frontier six hundred miles further toward the southwest, too far for them longer to protect. They were the actual starting points of this country's briefest and most triumphant war, an outbreak of which they almost witnessed a decade in advance of its eventual outbreak, but their claim to even that small mead of fame has been lost in the glamour of succeeding and more important events.

CHAPTER I

THE CONTROVERSIAL NEUTRAL STRIP

FORT JESUP, in eastern Sabine Parish, around which the history of the other three posts is centered, was the product of historical and diplomatic controversy. "At the time of the Louisiana Purchase there were joint claims of France and Spain to the territory lying west of the Sabine River, France basing its rights upon the occupation by LaSalle, and Spain upon the general extent of her Mexican possessions. The United States, in acquiring Louisiana, obtained the rights of France to regions west of the Sabine, which in the opinion of Jefferson were valid. The question, however, remained in dispute until 1819, when the United States, in her treaty with Spain, using in the negotiation the map of John Melish 'improved to Jan. 1, 1819', abandoned all claims beyond the Sabine."*

Though this new and natural boundary of the Sabine River had by compromise been agreed upon, to make the agreement more effective, and to impress the fact that all territory east of the Sabine was definitely subject to the laws of the United States, it was decided, as a part of both military and governmental wisdom, to protect the new frontier with a military garrison. This was especially necessary owing to the fact that, for upwards of a century, by mutual acquiescence of France and Spain, the irregular strip of territory lying between the line of the Arroyo Hondo, an insignificant stream in western Natchitoches Parish, continued southward by the line of Kisatchie Bayou and the Calcasieu river to the Gulf on the east, and by the Sabine on the West, had become a "Neutral Ground," or a sort of "No Man's Land," subject to no police restraint. The continuance of such a condition was not to be tolerated under American jurisdiction, with American emigration to Texas constantly bringing large numbers across this territory, and trade rapidly increasing along the few trails leading across the new frontier. A military force was needed as a police measure, in the absence of effective state police measures in this remote western edge of the new state. "That terra incognita became the rendezvous of a nondescript class, criminals, outlaws, murderers, refugees from justice from the United States and Mexico, as well as other countries. This strip consisted of all of Sabine Parish and a part of Natchitoches

* Windsor and Channing: "Territorial Acquisitions and Divisions," with copious notes, in *Narrative and Critical Hist. of America*, Vol. 7, page 550.

lying between the Arroyo Hondo and the Sabine River. An agreement made by General Herrera of the Spanish Army and General Wilkinson of the United States forces in 1806 that this strip should remain neutral, continued till 1820—fourteen years."[1] Besides the territory above mentioned, the strip included the present Parishes of Vernon, Beauregard and Calcasieu, and the western portions of the bordering parishes.[2]

The story of the origin of the so-called "Neutral Strip" has been so variously and often erroneously told that I shall give it in the words of the man who caused its establishment, General James Wilkinson:

> "The pretensions of the United States to the unsettled western boundary of Louisiana induced the Spanish government in the spring of 1806, to push forward a military corps and take possession of the country east of the Sabine River, as far as the Arroyo Honda, a small rivulet within six miles of Natchitoches, which the Spanish Commander, Governor Herrera, claimed as the ancient boundary of the province of Texas. To repel the invasion, the President of the United States ordered a small body of troops to be assembled at Natchitoches, where I found them unprepared, even, in the indispensable article of ammunition; as soon as the detachment was equipped for action, I advanced against the intruders, who prevented a collision by arms, by suddenly withdrawing behind the Sabine; and a pacific convention ensued, by which it was stipulated, that the ground between the Sabine and Arroyo Honda, should not be entered on by the citizens or sujbects of either party, pending the discussions between the two governments. This convention was respected by the Spaniards, but little regard was paid to by the citizens of the United States."[3]

The whole intricate and interesting story of the Louisiana-Texas Frontier will not here be told, for it has been fully detailed, with thorough research, by Isaac Joslin Cox[4] from LaSalle's Expedition in 1685 through the American Cession and Exploration

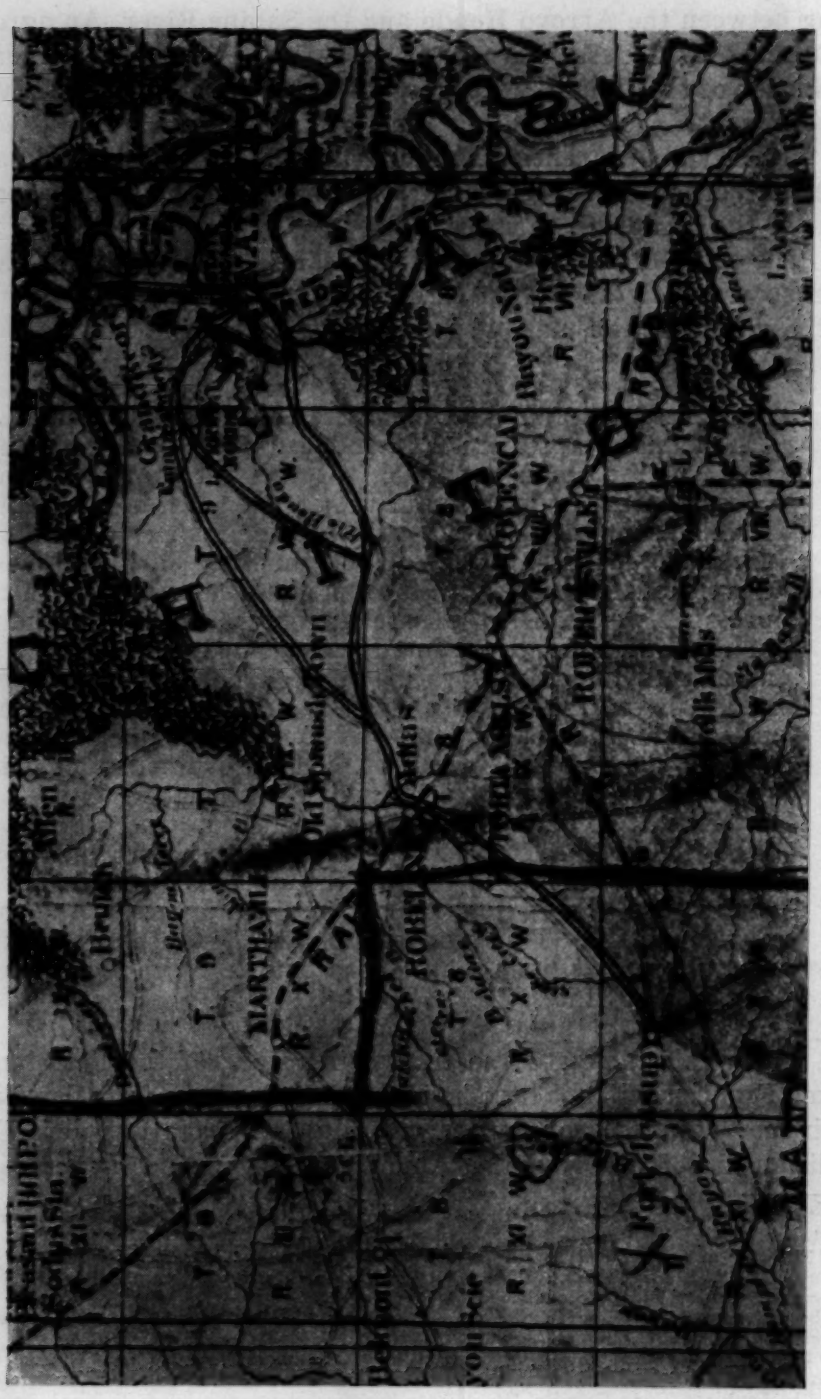
---

[1] "History of Natchitoches," by Dr. Milton Dunn, *La. Hist. Qtly.*, Vol. 3, No. 1, pages 30, 31.

[2] The only attempt that I have ever seen to fix accurately the eastern boundary of the "neutral strip" is in Leon Sugar's brief but excellent article "Following the Spanish Trail Across the Neutral Territory of Louisiana," in *La. Hist. Qtly.*, Vol. 10, No. 1, page 86. Another reference to the boundaries of the "strip" is in *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Northwest Louisiana*, page 466. Southern Pub. Co., Nashville and Chicago, 1890.

[3] *Memoirs of My Own Times*, by General James Wilkinson, Vol. 1, Chap. X, page 412, Phila., 1816. *A History of Louisiana*, by Henry E. Chambers, Vol. 1, Chap. LXXIX, page 476.

[4] The Louisiana-Texas Frontier, *Texas State Historical Assoc. Qtly.*, Vol. X, No. 1, page 1, July, 1906, *Southwestern Hist. Qtly.*, Vol. XVII, No. 1, July, 1913, page 1, No. 2, Oct., 1913, page 140.



SECTION OF HARDEE'S MAP OF 1894, SHOWING LOCATION OF FORT SELDEN, CAMP SALUBRITY, ADIAS AND FT. JESUP.

in 1805, and by Thomas Maitland Marshall[5] from the date of the Purchase through the survey of the boundary between Louisiana and the Republic of Texas in 1841. We are here concerned only with Fort Selden, Fort Jesup, and Camps Sabine and Salubrity, and the part they had in the making of that frontier.

It is well, however, in connection with this boundary to recall that the Treaty of Washington, the treaty of cession between the United States and Spain by which the Floridas were purchased and the Sabine river boundary line was established for Louisiana, was concluded February 22, 1819; ratified by the King of Spain October 24, 1820; and proclaimed February 22, 1821. The formal transfer to the United States took place July 17, 1821,[6] finally ending the negotiations that had been pending for over sixteen years.

Chapter II.

Fort Selden, the Forerunner of Fort Jesup

The story and location of Fort Selden has until lately been little more than a name in Louisiana history. The story is interesting but brief. The fort was named in honor of Joseph Selden, who served as a lieutenant in a Virginia State Regiment from 1778 to 1781 in the Revolutionary War, and a captain and a major in the regular army in the War of 1812, and thereafter until May 13, 1820, when he resigned after having been brevetted lieutenant colonel. It is stated that in 1820 he was appointed judge of the Territory of Arkansas.

Fort Selden was established in November, 1820, by some companies of the 7th United States Infantry under Lieutenant Colonel Zachary Taylor that had been transferred from the Territory of Arkansas. General Edmund Pendleton Gaines, commanding the Western Department and approaching then the height of his career, had his headquarters at Fort Selden for a time. While still stationed there, Lieutenant Colonel Taylor, 7th Infantry, was promoted to colonel and ordered transferred to the 1st Infantry. No record has been found in the War Department to show that the troops at Fort Selden, a small force, had any connection with any important military operation, for none was

[5] *A History of the Western Boundary of the Louisiana Purchase*, U. of California Press, Berkeley, 1914.

[6] Chambers, *op. cit.*, pages 477. Marshall, *op. cit*, Chap. III.

carried on by our army in that region during the two brief years of Fort Seldens existence as a frontier garrison post, 1820-22. Upon the establishment of Fort Jesup the garrison at Fort Selden was transferred to the new Fort, the older one ceased to be actively garrisoned, and soon fell into disuse and ruin.

The site of Fort Selden is one of the most beautiful in all north Louisiana, on the very crest of a high bluff rising almost perpendicularly above old Bayou Pierre, a mile or so upstream from the point where that water course originally joined Red River near Grand Ecore. The old fort site is a mile and a half or perhaps two miles above Grand Ecore. Bayou Pierre, a long time ago, deposited silt and sand in its bed from opposite the fort site to Blue Hole, abandoned its ancient channel along the bluffs, and cut a new channel into Red River. The verdure-clad bluff crowned with the historic site of Fort Selden is reflected on the east in the still, deep waters of Blue Hole, a beautiful little lake or pool fringed with willows and cottonwoods, and in the depths of the present active Bayou Pierre which runs on the north just at the foot of the bluff, below the fort site. Almost within a stone's throw of the fort, above the deposit which blocks the upper end of Blue Hole, Bayou Pierre now flows away from the bluff, leaving its old channel, and flows north-easterly around the upper part of Tauzin Island and joins the present Red River a mile and a half or more above Grand Ecore and perhaps three-quarters of a mile from the bluff if measured directly across.

The best approach to Fort Selden is to leave the paved highway at Grand Ecore, pass around the historic Grand Ecore bluffs by a winding road, cross the channel of old Bayou Pierre on to Tauzin Island, and go thence along the eastern edge of the ancient stream course to the Blue Hole. A dim, winding road leads from the lower end of this lake, across the bayou, and up the bluff, to the fort site. But it is best to drive on Tauzin Island to the upper end of Blue Hole, leave the car on the filled-in land somewhere near the place where Bayou Pierre abandons its older bed, and walk up a steep, winding trail to the top of the bluff. The bluff is tree-covered, and as one climbs, lovely vistas across the broad valley of Red River to the north and east open up between the tree tops. The bluff crest is quite above the tops of the highest trees in the valley below. On reaching the crest, one can follow the dim outline of what was once a main road leading to the fort, along the narrow ridge top which stretches away, backbone fashion, toward the west. Other old roads lead to the south and

to the southeast. At the highest point one reaches the fort site marked now only by dim outlines of ramparts, a few depressions, scattered pieces of stone, and some chimney mounds.

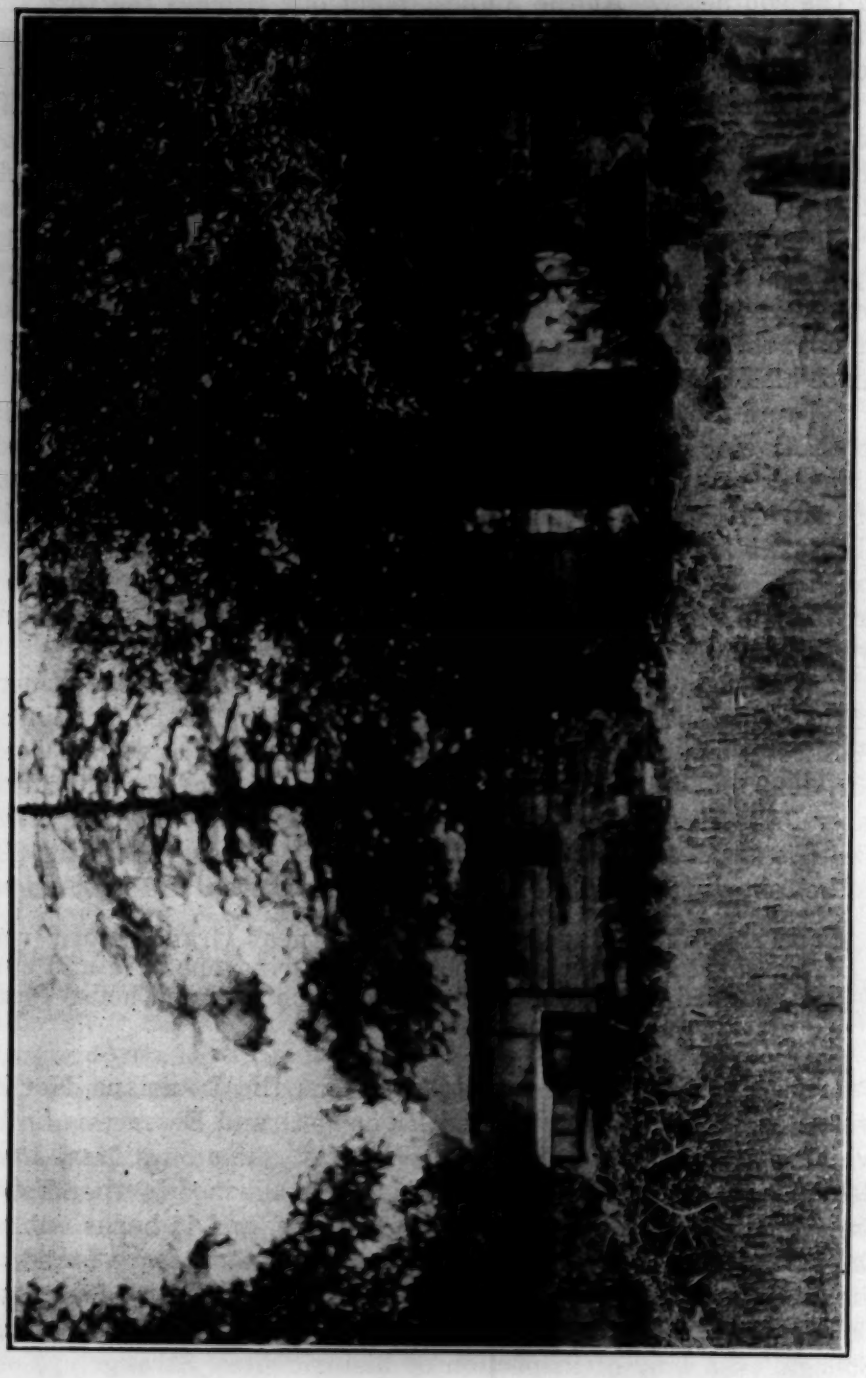
From this site the crest of the ridge slopes away gradually to the west, and the same dim trail, overlooking bayou Pierre all the way, leads a half mile to the mail line of the Texas and Pacific Railway at the south end of its bridge over the present Bayou Pierre. This point is within sight of Hyams, a flag station. The approach to Fort Selden from the railroad is easy, but the dirt road through the woods west of the railway is rough and long out of use; there is now no way to cross the track by vehicle, and a fence blocks the dim old road at the right-of-way line.

From the fort a path leads eastward, several hundred yards, into a ravine where a fine spring furnished water. A trail leads along the ridge back to Grand Ecore, and a branch of it leads off down to a spur to the southwest a scant two miles to join the old Texas Road or San Antonio Trace, but neither has been used much in years, and fallen trees block them both except for foot travel. With little labor, however, they could be opened and would be quite passable.

With Professor S. M. Byrd, head of the English department of the Louisiana State Normal College, as guide, Mr. D. A. Somdal, of Shreveport, and I had no difficulty in finding the site in October, 1929. We drove to the Blue Hole and climbed the bluff, and later followed out the other trails. At page 296 of *Biographical and Historical Memoirs of Northwest Louisiana*, published in 1890 is the following description which doubtless refers to Fort Selden:

> "The fort at Bayou Pierre Bluffs, near Grand Ecore, was a substantial set of structures, covering one acre and surrounded by a stone wall. Parts of the wall and house foundations are still to be seen."

Professor Byrd was informed that when the Louisiana Northwest Railway bridge across Red River at Grand Ecore was built, which now carries the Jefferson Highway, the stones from Fort Selden were used in the piers. This is also affirmed by the Misses Russell, of Natchitoches, owners of the site, and is borne out by the fact that fragments of the same kind of stones are found at the site. In June, 1930, we again visited the site with Lieutenant Colonel H. L. Landers of the Historical Section of the Army War College, on a tour of inspection of historic sites. Strangely, Fort Selden does not appear on the early maps of American surveys,



THE RUINS OF FT. JESUP IN 1927. PICTURE BY LEON BOOTH, SHREVEPORT.

but it is shown correctly on Hardee's Map of Louisiana of 1890 to be in the northern corner of irregular Section 44, Township 10, North Range 7, West.

Fort Selden was a short link in the important chain of garrison posts which marked the progress of the American frontier in this sector. First came Fort St. Jean Baptiste, now surrounded by the American Cemetery in Natchitoches, founded by St. Denis (after his first fort in the lowland at the junction of Cane and Old Rivers), and occupied by the Americans at the time of the cession. This was succeeded by Fort Claiborne, located on higher ground on the mainland to the west of the islands which constituted early Natchitoches, probably near where the Freeman home now stands in the present city. Then Fort Selden was established and placed north of Natchitoches as a part of the military progess of the United States in pushing Spanish encroachments back beyond the Sabine. At the same time it was placed so as to guard Red River and Bayou Pierre, which at that time, when the Great Raft blocked much of Red River, was the channel by which boats passed up the river and around the Raft, to re-enter the main channel of the river near the present Broadmoor section of Shreveport. After the proclamation of the Treaty of Washington in 1821 definitely fixing the Sabine River by compromise as the western boundary of the Louisiana Purchase, and the transfer of the "neutral strip" in July 1821, it naturally became necessary to select a more advanced location for a frontier garrison nearer that stream. The Spaniards being definitely dislodged from any claims to lower Red River, the site of Fort Jesup was consequently selected and Fort Selden was abandoned.

The part of Fort Selden in American military history was brief, lasting only a little more than two years; but though brief it was important, as marking a definite step in the westward advance of the national frontier. The headquarters of a department of the United States Army, the headquarters of General Gaines, who was a striking figure in the national military records, built by Zachary Taylor and the scene of his service and promotion, it is surely a site worthy to be marked and preserved. Yet now, without even its historic stones which at present serve to carry a busy highway across the river it once guarded, it lies neglected and almost unknown, covered by trees that have grown up within its former walls, on the crest of one of the most pictur-

esque bluffs in Louisiana, in a location that is almost as primeval in appearance as it was when the only President to whom Louisiana lay claim established its ramparts more than a century ago.

Chapter III

The Beginnings of Fort Jesup

Forts Claiborne and Selden were a long day's march eastward of the eastern edge of Neutral Ground, and about fifty miles from the Sabine, the new frontier. It was necessary that a more advanced position be occupied, one in the heart of the outlaws' territory, and within marching distance of the Sabine. The selection of this position, which was to be named first Cantonment Jesup and later Fort Jesup, is thus recorded:

> Headquarters, Western Department,
> Fort Selden, Red River, March 31, 1822.
>
> "Sir:
>
> After making due inquiry and examination of the country between this place and the Sabine River, through Lt. Col. Taylor, as well as by personal observation, I have selected a site for cantoning the troops in this quarter, which promises the advantages of health, combined with convenience of position for the protection of the settlements upon this frontier.
>
> The site selected is about 25 miles south-southwest from this place upon the ridge which divides the waters of the Sabine from those of Red River, and near the road leading from Natchitoches to the principal settlements in Texas; and not more than 18 miles upon a direct line from the Sabine River; having a constant running spring of good water (a thing seldom to be found in this country) with a dry, airy ridge, and sufficient space of public land with excellent timber, for every purpose of building and fuel for an army of twenty thousand men. The expense and transportation from this place & Natchitoches forms the only objection to the position referred to; but this was unavoidable, as I will hereafter show. I shall set out immediately for Fort Smith, Arkansas, by land; and I have only now to add that I will give you the details of my visits in this quarter from Louisville where I hope to arrive in the latter end of April.

Lt. Col. Taylor authorizes me to say that if he has not yet been transferred to the 1st Infantry he is disposed to remain in the 7th.

I have the honor to be with respect and esteem
Yours
EDMUND P. GAINES
Major Genl. by Bt. Comdg.

Col. James Gadsen
Adjt. Gen. U. S. Army[7]

Three days previously General Gaines had already issued the following Special Orders to Lieutenant Colonel Zachary Taylor, whose fortunes were thus to be linked both with the founding of Fort Jesup, and twenty-three years later, in 1845, when he was General Taylor, with the most momentous event in its existence, the beginning of the Mexican War.

Special Orders No. 19 Hdqrs. Western Department
Fort Selden, Red River
March 28, 1822

Lt. Col. Taylor, with the troops under his command, will, as soon as practicable occupy the position at Shields' Spring, 25 miles S.S.W. from this place; where he will canton the troops in huts of a temporary kind, sufficient for their health and comfort during the ensuing summer. The huts will be built by the troops; and to facilitate their completion, tools, waggons, and teams, planks and nails will be furnished by the quartermaster department, upon the requisition of the immediate commanding officer.

Lt. Col. Taylor is charged with the defense of the south-western Frontier of Louisiana; and will contribute as far as the means under his control will enable him to afford protection to the inhabitants of the interior as well as to those of the frontier."[8]

The following day, before setting out on his proposed journey to Fort Smith, General Gaines issued the following commendation of the troops to whom the founding of Fort Jesup was entrusted:

Hrqrs. Western Department
Fort Selden, Red River
Orders No. 12 March 29, 1822

The Commanding General is gratified to find, that notwithstanding the late afflictions of the 7th Infantry by disease and other causes, the companies at this place ex-

[7] Copy of the report furnished by the Adjutant General's Office, War Department, Oct. 28, 1929. Also Dunn, "Hist. of Natchtoches," *La. Hist. Qtly.*, Vol. 3, No. 1, Jan., 1920, p. 41.

[8] Copy of original Orders furnished by Adjutant General's Office, War Department.

hibit in their healthful appearance, their arms, equipment and dress, and particularly in their Battalion evolutons, the most satisfactory evidence of skill and vigilant attention on the part of the immediate commandants, as well as the company officers; and of obedience and good conduct on the part of most of the N-Commissioned Officers and private soldiers. The General congratulates the troops on the prospect of their immediately occupying an eligible position near the national boundary, where they may calculate upon the enjoyment of health and advancement in professional knowledge; and a participation in the first activity which may occur upon this important border of our country.

E. P. GAINES
Major General by Brevet
Commanding[9]

CHAPTER IV.

THE RELATIVE MILITARY IMPORTANCE OF THE LOUISIANA FRONTIER

THE RELATIVE importance of the occupied posts in this area during this period is fairly well indicated by the annual abstract return of the army, "showing the strength by posts and garrisons" rendered to the Secretary of War by the Adjutant and Inspector General of date December 21, 1819.[10] The total strength of the army was 8019, and that of the Southern Division, commanded by Major General Jackson, was 3926. Of these, Department No. 8, comprising Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, had 1893, or approximately one half of the divisional strength. Of these troops 96 men were stationed in or near New Orleans, under command of Major Many, who as Colonel Many, was later to have an important part in the history of Fort Jesup; 212 of the First Infantry were stationed at Baton Rouge; a detachment of 56 of this same regiment, under Captain Coombs, was stationed "on Red River," very probably at Fort Claiborne at Natchitoches; and a much larger detachment of the same regiment, 105 of officers and men, were at Camp Sabine, listed as being on the "Sabine River." Shortly thereafter the army was reorganized, Louisiana being placed in the Western Department, commanded by Brevet Major General E. P. Gaines; and in the return for 1822, dated November 9 of that year, only two garrisoned posts were shown in Louisiana, Baton Rouge, occupied by the 1st In-

[9] Copy of original Order furnished by Adjutant Gen. Office, Oct. 28, 1929.
[10] Am. St. Pa. Mil. Aff., Vol. 2, page 37.

fantry and staff, comprising a total of 315, and Cantonment Jesup, garrisoned by four companies of the 7th Infantry, 141 officers and men, commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Taylor.[11] On November 16 of that year the Quartermaster General reported:

> "In 1817, our highest post on the Red River was at Natchitoches, which was garrisoned by three companies: in 1822 a cantonment has been established 20 miles in advance of that post in the direction of the Sabine, garrisoned by five companies."[12]

By November, 1823, the garrison at Cantonment Jesup had become the strongest in Louisiana, comprising four companies of the 7th Infantry, under Lieutenant Colonel Many, while "Cantonment Taylor," in all probability an adjacent temporary post, contained one company of the same regiment, aggregating fifty-one officers and men.[13] The following year approximately the same strength was maintained at these two posts, where the same commands continued, totalling 206, the largest garrison in Louisiana.[14] Cantonment Taylor is listed no more after this year in the army reports. In 1825 only three companies of the 7th Infantry were stationed at Cantonment Jesup, under Lieutenant Colonel Many, reducing its strength to 127, but it was still the second largest garrison in Louisiana, surpassing New Orleans, and being exceeded in strength only by Baton Rouge.[15] The next year all garrisons in the Department were further reduced, the three companies of the 7th Infantry at Cantonment Jesup mustering only 42 privates, still commanded by Lieutenant Colonel Many, but this was surpassed in strength only by the garrison at New Orleans.[16] It was during this year, also, that a favorable report was made to Congress for the construction of a military road from Cantonment Gibson, in the Arkansas Territory, to Natchitoches, owing to the necessity of transporting troops between these frontier posts, over an uncertain route by Red River of over 600 miles, open to navigation only five months of the year, wehereas the proposed road would be only 300 miles in length.[17]

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[11] *Ibid.*, page 456, Doc. No. 235, 17th Cong., 2nd Sess.

[12] *Ibid.*, page 464.

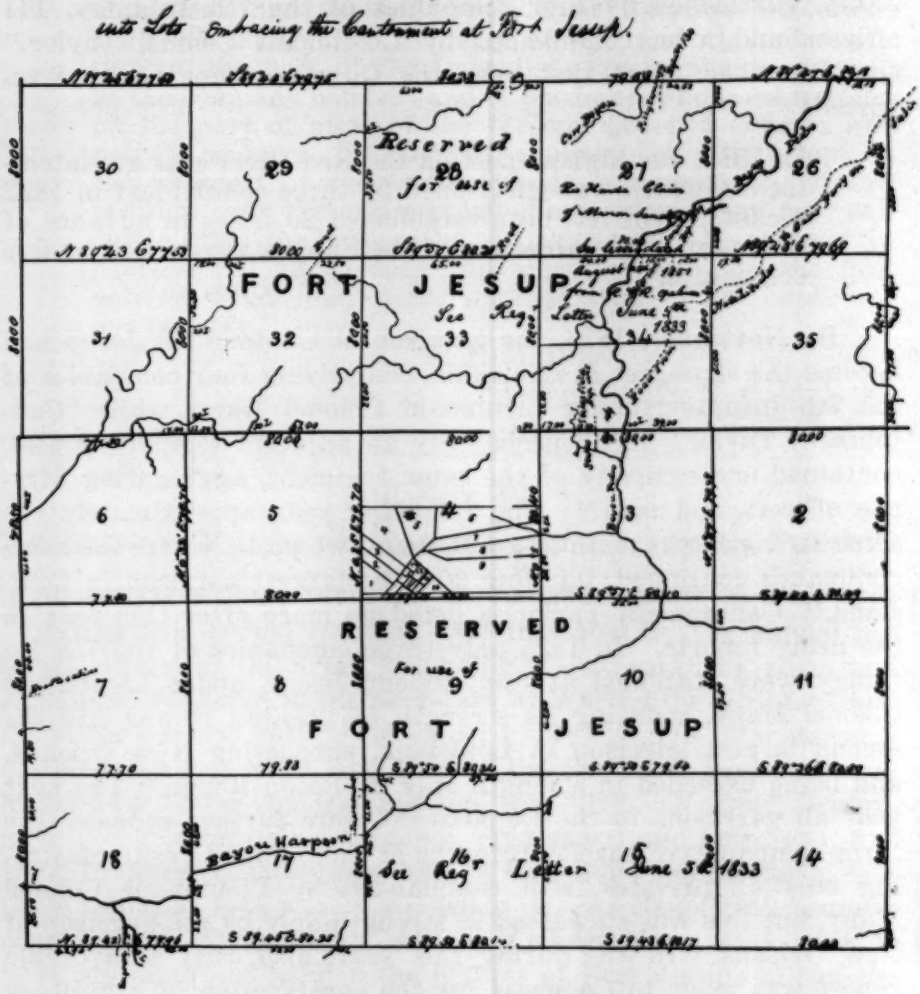
[13] *Ibid.*, page 558, Doc. No. 247, 18th Cong., 1st Sess.

[14] *Ibid.*, page 706, Doc. 262, 18th Cong., 2nd Sess.

[15] Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff., Vol. 2, page 115, Doc. 284, 19th Cong., 1st Sess.

[16] *Ibid.*, page 341, Doc. No. 334, 19th Cong., 2nd Sess.

[17] *Ibid.*, page 229, Doc. No. 305, 19th Cong., 1st Sess.



General Land Office Map of 1833, Showing Reservation of Ft. Jesup and Road to Natchitoches and Sabine River.

Chapter V.

Cantonment Jesup in 1824 and 1827 and the Building of the Military Road

There is an attractive description of Cantonment Jesup during this period under Colonel Many from the pen of the Reverend Timothy Flint, who visited it with Judge Henry A. Bullard in 1824, and thus described it:

> "We were most hospitably welcomed at 'Cantonment Jesup', a post within twenty-five miles of the Sabine, and situated the fartherest to southwest of any in the United States. They have very comfortable quarters, two companies of soldiers, and a number of very gentlemanly officers, the whole under the command of Col. Many. The water from the southern extremity of the esplanade falls into the Sabine, and from the northern, into the Red River. It is of course the highest point between the two rivers. It produced singular sensations, to see all the pomp and circumstance of military parade, and to hear the notes of the drum and fife, breaking the solitude of the wilderness of the Sabine. By this garrison passes the great road to the crossing on the Sabine. Beyond that river the forest country continues thirty miles. Then commences the vast prairies, that reach to the Passo del Norte. The road from Sabine to Mexico is said to be very good, passable with carriages, and the worst part of the distance, in the valley of MEXICO, within a short distance of that city. The passing is already considerable. Many of the young men of our region have made excursions to that city. It is easy to see that the improving spirit of the age, even in the Mexican country, will soon make this a stage and a mail route."[18]

Perhaps among the "number of very gentlemanly officers" who served to make Mr. Flint's and Judge Bullard's visit to this frontier post so enjoyable were Thomas Lawson, Surgeon, whom we know from army orders was stationed there in 1822; he later became Surgeon General of the Army. Doubtless another was First Lieutenant B. L. E. Bonneville, 7th Infantry, whom we know from the same sources to have been stationed there during 1824; he was later to become famous as an explorer of the Far West, to serve with distinction in the Mexican War, and to become a brevet brigadier general of the Army. His adventures

[18] Recollections of the Last Ten Years Passed in the Valley of the Mississippi, pp. 371, 372, by Timothy Flint, Boston, 1826.

as an explorer are charmingly preserved in Washington Irving's "Adventures of Captain Bonneville."[19]

In March, 1827, Major General Edmund P. Gaines made an official inspection of Cantonment Jesup, "garrisoned by three companies of the 7th Infantry, under the command of Lt. Col. James B. Many" and described thus:

> "Cantonment Jesup stands on the top of the ridge which divides the waters of Red River from those of the Sabine twenty-five miles to the westward of Natchitoches, upon the road leading from that city to Nacogdoches. It is one of the most healthful and elevated positions of the interior of Louisiana, amply supplied with pure water, with an abundance of timber for fuel and building. The adjacent land is principally deemed to be public property, and though generally too poor for several miles around to attract the attention of speculators, it affords tolerable gardens and fields for corn and pasturage. A position near the Sabine river, from twenty to twenty-five miles further westward, if equally healthy, would be better adapted to the immediate charge of the western frontier bordering on Texas; but it is believed that no part of that frontier has proven to be so healthy as the position now occupied.
> "Police: Very good, generally, and in some respects exemplary; barracks not as airy as I deem to be desirable in this climate for the summer, and though originally well built with logs in the ordinary way, their roofs are now beginning to decay and leak, and they cannot be fit for use more than for a year or two longer without extensive repairs. Should it be deemed proper to establish a permanent post in this quarter, and this seems to be advisable, much good to the service would result from the erection of substantial brick barracks, with such flank defences as an exposed and feeble frontier demand for the security of the troops, and public stores, and for the protection of the inhabitants in the event of a sudden rupture with our red or white neighbors."[20]

General Gaines had high praise for the training and deportment of officers and men. His comment in this report on the probability of a "sudden rupture with our red or white neighbors" is interesting in the light of his actions eight years later, in 1835, when he returned here as commanding officer of the Western Department, and almost precipitated the Mexican War a decade in advance of its eventual outbreak. Gaines always wanted war. His

[19] Letter from Adjutant General's Office, War Dept., April 17, 1928, to the author.
[20] Am. St. Papers, Mil. Aff., Vol. IV, page 114. Doc. No. 407, 20th Cong., 2nd Sess.

was a warlike disposition. If he could not have public war he had private, personal ones, as with General Scott, and he lived in an atmosphere of legal warfare in the celebrated Myra Clark Gaines cases of his wife. Fort Jesup was never moved closer to Sabine as he suggested; yet we shall see that his recommendation was partly carried out in this respect in the construction in 1835 of the Camp Sabine Blockhouse, a fortified outpost, on the site of General Wilkinson's camp of 1806, some thirteen miles west of Many, and a few miles east of the Sabine.

In 1829, doubtless because of uncertain relations with Mexico, the garrison at Fort Jesup was increased to 212, it being one of only five out of the fifteen posts in the Western Department having a garrison in excess of 200, and being the third strongest garrison in the department. These figures are more impressive in point of comparison when it is kept in mind that there were only two departments in the army, the Eastern and the Western, and that the respective total strength of each was 2895 and 2463![21]

The Western Department comprised all territory west of a line drawn from the southernmost point of East Florida to the northwest extremity of Lake Superior, taking in the whole of Tennessee and Kentucky; and the Eastern Department covered all east of this line.[22] Natchitoches was the postoffice of Cantonment Jesup in 1829, and Lieutenant Colonel J. B. Many was its commandant.

In 1830 the strength of the garrison was 149.[23] On December 15 of this year in response to resolution of the House of Representatives requesting information as to all roads constructed by the Army of the United States, among the fourteen military roads reported as having been completed was No. 10, "Commencing at Cantonment Towson, in Arkansas Territory, and extending to the northern boundary line of the State of Louisiana," a distance of 168 miles, commenced in October, 1827, and completed in March, 1828, in accordance with an Act of Congress of March 3, 1827, and No. 11, "Commencing at the northern boundary line of the State of Louisiana, where No. 10 terminates, and extending to Natchitoches in the same State," a length of 94 miles, and constructed during the same period, "by order of the War Depart-

[21] *Ibid.*, page 159. Doc. 410, 21st Cong., 1st Sess.
[22] *Ibid.*, page 265. Doc. 425, 21st Cong., 1st Sess.
[23] *Ibid.*, page 592. Doc. 458, 21st Cong., 2nd Sess.

ment, with a view to render No. 10 available for military purposes."[24]

This was the famous "Military Road" so frequently referred to in the earlier accounts and by the older inhabitants of Claiborne, Webster, Bienville and Natchitoches Parishes. Fortunately, it was located on the earliest American surveys of North Louisiana in 1834 and its location does not depend merely upon tradition but, following the suggestion of Archer Butler Hulbert as to the location of the "California Trail" in "The Forty Miners" I was able to plat it exactly by reference to the photolithograph copies of the original United States Survey Township plats, supplied by Mr. C. R. Minor and Mr. Jules Culbertson, of the Gulf Refining Company, of Shreveport, from the files of their engineering department.

The route of the road enters Louisiana in Claiborne Parish in the North-east quarter of Section Two, Township Twenty-three North, Range Eight West, just east of the point at which the right-of-way of the Louisiana and North-West Railway crosses the Arkansas line, thence runs due south, through the east half of sections eleven, fourteen, twenty-three, and twenty-six, where it inclines somewhat to the south-east and passes within less than half a mile of the western edge of Haynesville, thence across the north-eastern corner of section thirty-five and thence diagonally across section thirty-six from north-west to south-east, where it intersected the great east and west emigrant road across north Louisiana, thence running with that road about half a mile, when it crossed over into the north-west quarter of section one of township twenty-two. Here it again inclined to the south-east and passed out of the eastern half of this section into section twelve, thence due south across the east halves of sections thirteen, twenty-four, twenty-five and thirty-six, continuing south into section one of township twenty-one, from which it emerged in the south-east corner, curving over the line for about half a mile into section seven of range seven, in this township, and thence back west again into section twelve of range eight, then south through the eastern edges of section thirteen and twenty-four, thence south-westward through the George T. Shaw lands in sections twenty-five and thirty-six, through the Homer oil field and down into the northwest quarter of section one, township twenty, range eight, and south across the western quarter of this

[24] *Ibid.*, page 627, Doc. 462 *Id.*, and page 629 *Id.* Letter from General Thomas S. Jesup, Quartermaster General, ordering the survey.

this section, and across the north-west corner of section twelve, just to the south. There the old road, unusually straight in its course, was made to sharply curve to the west, into the adjoining section eleven, for a quarter of a mile, apparently to go around "Murrell's Field," which shows on the original survey plat, on land that is still shown to be in the Murrell family, belonging to Mrs. Eliza Murrell. Coming back eastward into section thirteen it cuts across the extreme north-west corner into section fourteen, thence south into section twenty-three, thence southwestward across that section and section twenty-six, emerging from the extreme south-western corner of the latter, into and through the north-western edge of section thirty-five, thence across the south-eastern corner of section thirty-four, where it crosses into the center of Section three of the next township to the south, township nineteen, north, here crossing the creek and passing through the western quarter of section three into section ten, and out of its extreme south-western corner into and barely through the north-western corner of section fifteen into and through the eastern edge of section sixteen, thence continuing south through section twenty-one, thence on through the center of sections twenty-eight and thirty-three, emerging in the southwestern corner of the later into the north-western corner of township eighteen north range eight, and also crossing here the present Dixie Overland Highway 80 at "Nine Forks" Filling Station five miles east of Minden. Throughout its course south across township nineteen except for the last two miles north of Highway 80, a present-day road follows the old historic route, and this road continues on the original route of the Military Road across the western quarter of township eighteen, inclining slightly to the southwest and crossing the Vicksburg, Shreveport and Pacific Railroad in the west half of section thirty, township eighteen, scarcely a mile east of Dubberly, in Webster Parish, thence continuing south by old Fellowship Baptist Church, with the present road keeping the old route, out of this township and into and across the north-western corner of township seventeen, range eight into township seventeen, range nine, thence southwesterly into the south half of this township and then turning due south, through the old Buckhorn settlement, at the present Wallace's store where its route has been adopted by the present excellent, straight State Highway 90 due south through township sixteen, range nine, through the present attractive town of Ringgold, in Bienville Parish, and on due south through the center

of townships fifteen and fourteen, range nine, into Red River Parish, where, being left by the route of State Highway 90, which leads somewhat to the south-west to reach Coushatta, the route of the old road, still followed by a present-day road, veers somewhat to the south-eastward across township thirteen and the northeast corner of township twelve, range nine, into township twelve, range eight, thence south-eastward across this township, crossing its south line about the middle of it, into the northern part of Natchitoches Parish and there, at Leindecker's store three-fourths of a mile south of the Fairview-Alpha school being adopted as the route of the paved State Highway 71 and across the northeastern corner of township eleven, range eight, southeastward into township eleven range seven and thence southward nine miles into Campti, where the Military Road itself followed the then established highway into Grand Ecore and Natchitoches.

We have thus detailed the route of this historic highway for the reason that it is one of only three Military Roads in Louisiana, a highway which at one time linked the defenses of the national frontier, yet its route is known only by local legend of the immediate neighborhoods through which it ran, where it is generally inaccurately but persistently referred to as "General Jackson's Road" and has never before apparently, been delineated with reference to survey lines and present-day localities. It should be, and perhaps some day will be, appropriately marked. Such was the route of the road that the soldiers of Fort Jesup cut through the forests of north Louisiana in the winter of 1827-28.

These military roads thus connected the two most western outposts of the United States army, Fort Jesup and Fort Towson, the latter at the extreme head of navigation on Red River. They connected at Fort Towson with Military Road No. 13, leading to Fort Smith, and also with the road from Little Rock to Fort Gibson, built at the same time.

In 1831 Fort Jesup came under the command of Brevet Brigadier General Leavenworth, with six companies of the 3rd Infantry, its strength being raised to 217.[25] The following year the command remain unchanged, but the strength was increased to 296, the second largest garrison in the Western Department, being surpassed only by Fort Gibson.[26] In this report for the first time the post is referred to as Fort Jesup instead of Canton-

[25] *Ibid.*, page 724, Doc. 485, 22nd Cong., 1st Sess.

[26] Am. St. Pap., Mil. Aff., Vol. 5, page 39. Doc. 532, 22nd Cong., 2nd Sess.

ment Jesup. The command remained unchanged through 1833, with the strength at 248.[27] This increased to 296 in 1834, and Colonel Many again assumed command.[28]

At the request of the writer and of the late Congressman James B. Aswell, Hon. Hanford MacNider, former Assistant Secretary of War, the Quartermaster General of the Army, and Hon. Thomas C. Havell, Assistant Commissioner of the General Land Office, have caused search to be made in their respective offices for all available references to the administrative origin of Cantonment Jesup. This search had meagre results as far as records are concerned, for apparently this frontier post, like most of them, was founded and developed in a most informal fashion, in a raw, wild country where there was no need of procuring the formalities of definite surveys and the acqusition of title.

It does not appear that the limits were defined for this post at the time of its establishment. The land for many miles on all sides was public land, and as a result several settlers had located themselves on it, some within one and a half miles of the post buildings. Some of these settlers, or, as they were termed, squatters, made themselves objectionable to the military authorities at the Post, chiefly by sales of liquor to the enlisted men. In order to stop these unauthorized sales, and for the purpose of conserving fuel supply for the garrison, General Leavenworth, then in command, on November, 5, 1831, issued Order No. 69, Headquarters, 3rd Infantry, directing the Assistant Quartermaster to take possession, for the purpose of supplying fuel, of all public land within three miles of the flagstaff of the cantonment. Pursuant to this order, the earliest record of Fort Jesup in the General Land Office, the following Notice was issued and posted:

NOTICE

To all whom it may concern:

> Having received instructions from General Leavenworth to take possession for the United States, for the purpose of supplying fuel for the garrison, of all public lands lying within three miles of this cantonment, I therefore in the name and for the United States, take possession, and warn each and every person or persons whatever, having neither a 'donation' or 'pre-emption' claim, from cutting timber, erecting buildings, or making any improvement or location on public lands within three miles of the

[27] *Ibid.*, page 180, Doc. 551, 23rd Cong., 1st Sess.

[28] *Ibid.*, page 370, Doc. 585, *Id.*

flag-staff of Cantonment Jesup, La., and at the same time direct that each and every person or persons that have settled themselves on said public land, (having neither donation or pre-emption claim therefor) leave such improvement or location with as little delay as practicable, otherwise they will be dealt with according to law.

FRANCIS LEE
Acting Assistant Quartermaster
U. S. Army

Cantonment
Jesup, La.
7th Nov. 1831[29]

This rather rough and ready frontier process of withdrawing public land from settlement and entry was supplemented in a more formal manner by a letter dated June 29,1832, from Major General Thomas S. Jesup, Quartermaster General, requesting Secretary of War Lewis Cass to have four section of land at Fort Jesup reserved for military purposes.[30]

On May 9, 1833, Major General Alex Macomb, commanding the army, recommended the formal establishment of Fort Jesup; and as soon thereafter as arrangements could be made the Post of Fort Jesup was formally established on June 3, 1833, by order of the then Secretary of War, John C. Calhoun; and President Andrew Jackson, by executive order created the Fort Jesup Military Reservation of twenty-five square miles, including Sections 2 to 11 and 14 to 18 in Township 7, and Sections 26 and 35 in Township 8 North, Range 10 West, containing 15,904.80 acres[31]

This action displaced a number of bona fide settlers, and by Act of March 3, 1839, Henry Stoker, William C. Belknap, and Benjamin Walker were each allowed to locate on 640 acres of public land in lieu of their lands at Fort Jesup which were taken by the United States. The only change for the year 1835 was a further slight increase in strength to 313.[32]

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[29] Letter from the Quartermaster Supply Officer to the Quartermaster General of the Army, to the author, Jan. 21, 1930, citing and quoting orders.

[30] Letter of Thomas C. Havell, Asst. Commissioner General Land Office, Nov. 21, 1927, to the author citing and quoting letter.

[31] *Ibid.*

[32] *Ibid.*, page 641. Doc. 613, 24th Cong., 1st Sess.

(To be Continued)

RAPIDES PARISH, LOUISIANA—A HISTORY

By G. P. Whittington

Second Installment

(Continued from October, 1932, Quarterly)

Chapter IV

Colonial Days or Central Louisiana Under The Rule of France and Spain

The story of colonial days in central Louisiana or when it was ruled by France and Spain, is based largely upon traditions. Tales handed down from one generation to another have practically been accepted as facts. The absence of written or printed material is due largely to the fact that this section of our state felt the iron hand of an invading army which left destruction in its path. The Court House at Alexandria with all of its records, some dating back well into the 18th century, of the transfers of property, suit records, successions, wills, mortgages and all of the papers that were kept at the Post were destroyed by fire, when the invaders of the Federal army saw fit to burn the town and all public buildings. The newspaper files from 1810, when this was a part of the Orleans Territory, to 1864, family records and papers met the same fate. The whole town was burned with all of its churches save one, and scarcely any home of a man of prominence throughout the country-side escaped the torch of the vandal. The above facts must be taken into consideration when statements are made that are not borne out by citation of authorities.

In central Louisiana the change of ownership from France to Spain was scarcely noticed. The Spanish officials were the Frenchmen who had served France. Trade was carried on in the same way. Practically the first notice they had of the change of ownership, was the coming of men to this post to have the people take an oath of allegiance to His Catholic Majesty the King of Spain. Next came the broadening of the regulations governing the acquiring of lands by people from the old English colonies along the Atlantic seaboard. These newcomers were given large concessions of lands, the acreage based upon the num-

ber of people in the family and the slaves brought with them. These lands however were acquired only upon their taking oath of allegiance to the Spanish crown and establishing actual residence in the province. They were prohibited the open practice of their religion, but they were not molested in its practice in their homes. This did not tend to make this a religious center, but rather to make it the Godless country it continued to be for many years after.

Whether a part of DeSoto's band wandered through this section on their journey to the Gulf, or whether the remnant of LaSalles's band visited or crossed this parish returning to Canada after their leader's murder will never be known. The Indians they met of the Caddo Confederacy lived along the Red River and moved from time to time their places of habitation. The final migration of the greater part of this tribe took place some time prior to the 17th century, the exact date being unknown. Swords and metal stirrups of undoubted Spanish origin were found buried along the river above the falls a number of years ago. We do know that Tonti traveled up and down the river in search of news of his friend and former leader, LaSalle.

There is a tradition that would fix the first settlement of white people in this section as early as 1690. This settlement however was not permanent. The story relates that the Spanish Franciscan Missionaries came to the "Grand Rapids" on Red River about the year 1690 and established a mission on the left descending bank of the stream at a point just below the rapids, and just within the gates of the Rapides Cemetery at Pineville (the oldest known graveyard in this parish). They brought with them Spanish laborers, constructed a chapel, and took up the work of Christianizing the Indians, who roamed the forests of this section. They settled a number of these Indians around the mission and undertook to teach them some of the arts of husbandry as well as the doctrines of the church. When the French under St. Denis passed through this country during the early days of the 18th century, this mission was found, the priests were ordered to leave Louisiana and return to Mexico and the Indians, left without guidance, returned to their former way of roaming the forests.[19]

[19] Statements repeated to me by the late Father L. Menard, who was the parish priest at Alexandria from 1880 to 1912 and who had been the missionary priest in this section for some years prior to becoming the parish priest. He stated to me that this information had been obtained by him from old residents and principally from Mexicans who lived near Pineville, and claimed that they were descendants of some of these laborers. He also stated that he had in his possession well authenticated documents that made the same statements. He said that these documents were destroyed when his home was burned in 1894.

In 1699, Iberville and Bienville were at the settlement of the Natchez Indians, and hearing of the Caddos on Red River, determined to visit this tribe. Bienville with a party of French Canadians, of whom St. Denis was one, made an overland trip to the village of the Natchitoches Indians, a branch of the Caddo Confederacy. The flood waters of the Mississippi and the Red covered a great part of the country, and from the description contained in Bienville's journal, they may have crossed any part of the territory between these two rivers from a point just above the present City of Monroe to the lower end of Catahoula Lake and Rapides parish. The Indians were visited and the return trip was made down Red River to the Mississippi.[20]

According to another local tradition, when St. Denis moved the Natchitoches to Mobile in 1705, part of this band refused to abandon their old homes and go so far away into a strange land, but moved from their village near the present Natchitoches to the rapids just above the present Alexandria where they joined the Indians of that place and continued to make this new location their home even after the return of the French and their kin in later years.

The Inspector of the Troops of Louisiana, Diron Dartaguette, made a census of the Province in 1720, to which he attached a report with recommendations. Among these we find the following:

> "If one wishes the post of the Nauchitoches which is valuable in relation to the Spanish who have one seven leagues from there and of which we shall speak of establishing later in the place called the Grand Rapid, which is a point half way between the beginning of the Red river and the Natchitoches, and where the river ceases to be navigable four or five months of the year."
>
> "This propoed new post would be all the more necessary since it would halt enterprises of the Chicachas Indians, our enemies, who station themselves there because they know there is no other way to pass in order that they may lie in wait for travelers and kill them."[21]

The report continues and tells of a man, travelling from New Orleans to Natchitoches, who, two days before the visit of the Inspector, had been killed by the Indians and his two young daughters carried away.

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[20] King (Miss Grace) Sieur de Bienville, pages 95 and 100.

[21] Early Census Tables of Louisiana. *La. Hist. Qy*, Vol. 13, p. 211.

In 1723 or 24, a small detachment of soldiers were stationed at the rapids and thus the Post du Rapide had its beginning.

Prior to this date traders and trappers had made settlements along the bayous of this section to carry on their trade and lived among the Indians. These settlers were mostly men who had come down from Canada.

Under the French domination, the central part of Louisiana was under the jurisdiction of the King's Lieutenant who lived at Natchitoches. This official handled all matters arising in this section, kept the necessary records and made his report to the Governor in New Orleans and through him to the home government.

Among the early settlers who made their homes near the post du Rapide, we find the name of Layssard or Laissard, Poiret, LaForest, LaSage, LaCour, LaCaze, Deville, Chevallier and Vallery. Their names are prominent in the land records found in the American State Papers (Public Lands) and their early residence repeatedly mentioned.

The name of the first commandant of the post, as far as we can find in the records that have come down to us, was Etienne Layssard. The date of the establishment of his residence is unknown. A family of this name was engaged in the mercantile business in New Orleans under the French. One member of this family Etienne Marafret Layssard or Lissard was a deputy attorney-general and was stationed in the Illinois country. A son of Etienne, Jean Baptist Layssard, stated in a deposition made in 1774, that he was "twenty seven years of age, a native of Rapide on Red River and engaged in the Indian trade."[22] This would fix the date of his birth as 1747 and his father's residence at that place prior to that year. Etienne Layssard (or Estevan Layssard as his name appears in the Spanish records) was appointed post commandant of Rapide a short time before the transfer of Louisiana by France to Spain.

When DeMézières, to whom Layssard was related in some way, was placed in charge of Natchitoches, by O'Reilly, he was retained as the post commandant at the Rapide. Under both the French and Spanish governments, Layssard combined the various positions of local judge, captain of the militia and Indian Agent. He seems to have been an Indian trader before his appointment to office, and, as such, had come in contact with the

[22] Bolton (H. E.) Athanase De Mézières and the Texas-Louisiana Frontier 1768-1780. Vol. 2, p. 118.

various tribes who lived in this district as well as those who from time to time came here from East of the Mississippi to trade for horses, cattle and salt. He was familiar with their various dialects and had gained a great influence over them. When the Indians who had been the allies of the French, abandoned their homes east of the Mississippi and came to Louisiana seeking refuge near their former friends, after the year 1763, it fell to the lot of Etienne Layssard to take care of these people in Louisiana and settle them upon the lands that were allotted to them by the new government. Having found homes for these people it was his duty to act as their representative in their dealing with the government and to see that they were not mistreated by the whites who settled in this same section.

When Governor Bernardo Galvez lead his expedition against the English positions at Natchez, Baton Rouge and Fort Butte, the militia of Rapides, as well as in other parts of Louisiana, was called into service, and Captain-Commandant Estevan Layssard was in Command of the local company. From the information to be had at this time, it would seem that Layssard had four sons who were engaged in the Indian trade and at the same time in the employ of the Spanish Government, namely; Nicholas Marafret, Jean Baptiste, Valentine, and Balon Layssard. They were all noted for their knowledge of the various Indian dialects and trade language. The first two spent most of their time out of the limits of the present State of Louisiana. Their territory extended from the Missouri river on the north well into east Texas and North West Louisiana on the south, and from the Mississippi to the foot hills of the Rocky Mountains. They so conducted themselves that they were great favorites of the Indians they visited as traders and interpreters. These men belonged to that class of whom Dr. H. E. Bolton has said: "The traders were as much government agents as private business men, for they went under definite government instructions, looking to the best interest of the service. They must be men of good habits and if possible, of substance."[23] These two brothers were the trusted agents of DeMézières and were used by him as his interpreters in dealing with the Indians north of Louisiana. Their influence did much to enable the Spanish to hold the friendship and trade of these people.

Valentine Layssard, another son, remained in this district acting as an assistant to his father, and in time succeeding to the

[23] Bolton (H. E.) Athanase De Mézières and the Louisiana Texas Frontier 1768-1780, Vol. 1, p. 72.

position occupied by him. Having been raised at a post where the Indians daily came to trade and to receive the presents provided by the government, or to make complaints to the officer in charge, this man came to know the natives of this territory and to speak their language as well as he did his mother tongue. Between 1792 and 1794 (the exact date is unknown) Valentine Layssard succeeded his father as the commandant of the post El Rapido. In his testimony given in numerous land claims, he, as well as others, states that he was given the title of "Captain Commandant of the Militia of the Post of Rapides; agent of the Indian tribes of the district; Judge sub-delegate of the Royal Haciendo and sub-delegate of the Intendant of Louisiana."[24] In his capacity as the holder of these various offices, he was the captain of the local militia and represented the Indians in their various transactions with the government and individuals, in acquiring and disposing of land. By some he was criticized for being too considerate of the trader to the detriment of the rights of the Indians. As the representative of the Intendant of Louisiana, it was his duty to see that all of the new residents who came into the district from the United States took the proper oath of allegiance to the Spanish King. He was also charged with the duty of approving the applications of those settlers who applied for grants of land from the public domain and to see that these grants did not conflict with those that had been granted to others and previously assigned. As judge he heard and determined suits of minor nature, and took the necessary testimony to be transmitted to New Orleans in matters of real importance to be there adjudged. This man was a Frenchman by birth, then a Spanish subject and finally a citizen of the United States, all of which countries he served truly and well. During the last part of the Spanish control of Louisiana, his duties were confined to the position of Indian Agent and possibly commandant of the militia. The other duties of judge, and sub-delegate of the Intendant were assigned to other men.

When Spain sent its officers to New Orleans to take possession of the Province of Louisiana, a few of the officials and a number of the Creoles attempted to prevent it. General Alexandro O'Reilly was then sent by the Spanish Government to do what Ulloa had failed to do. The attempted revolt of the Creoles as is well known, was soon put down. The leaders were executed

[24] American State Papers (G. & S. Ed.) Public Lands, Vol. 2, pp. 776 *et seq.*

or placed in prison, and the mass of the people took the oath of allegiance to the King of Spain. After this O'Reilly visited the settlements along the Mississippi river, where the people were assembled and the oath of allegiance was administered. The General was not able to visit all of the settlements, but he sent his representatives to the posts of Opelousas, Natchitoches, Rapido and the Attakapas. The men sent were Eduardo Nugent and Juan Kelly. They were charged with the making of a census of the inhabitants, and inventory of the property owned by these people and the administration of the oath of allegiance to the colonists. These men kept a journal of this trip as well as a report of the number of people found and the property possessed. This journal was found a number of years ago in Spain, translated and published in the Quarterly. According to this report at Rapido on Red River, they found 33 white people, 18 slaves, 98 horses, 258 head of cattle, a number of pigs and poultry.[25] They also accounted for a few Indians settled around the post. There is no record of the number of people at the other settlements in this section. O'Reilly summoned DeMézières to New Orleans for a conference. This meeting resulted in DeMézières being named as the Lieutenant-Governor with headquarters in Natchitoches. This appointment resulted in the retaining of the French officers and traders who had served under France in the employ of Spain. There was no change in the commandant at Rapido. The same system of contact formerly used by the French towards the Indians was followed.

Among the names of men listed as engaged in Indian trading in this section and living around the rapids are found those of LeCour, Poiret, LaForrest, LaCaze, Deville, Vallerie, LaSage, Dubois, Belgard, Chevallier and Coir. These traders journeyed to the Indians, leaving their families at the settlements on the river. The men were familiar with the dialects and trade language of the Indians from beyond the Mississippi and also those of western Louisiana and East Texas. They could be used as interpreters when necessary. With the assistance of such traders the friendship of the Indians was held for the nation as well as for themselves.

Some of the largest merchants of the province had branches of their places of business along Red river from the Rapids well into the territory now known as Oklahoma and North East Texas.

[25] *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 7, p. 36 (Jany., 1924).

The goods supplied by these merchants to the traders to be taken to the Indians had to be imported through the port of New Orleans, then transported by boat, canoe or keel boat, up the Mississippi to the Red, thence up that stream to the place of business. Furs, hides, pelts, dressed deer skins, and bear oil that was obtained in trade from the Indian had to be boated down the Red and Mississippi to New Orleans to be exported to Europe.

As a result of the liberal policy adopted by Governor Carondelet towards the immigrant from the English speaking states, a number of people moved into this section of central Louisiana and in a very short period of time this section became an English speaking community. The original French and Spanish settlers were soon in a minority and were either crowded out or so intermarried with the Americans that their identity was completely lost. These early immigrants from the Atlantic coast settled in small groups. The Virginians seemed to have preferred the upper end of Bayou Rapides or Jean de Jean, near the present town of Boyce, while the Marylanders settled on the other end or at the Rapids, near the present Alexandria. New England, Pennsylvania, Tennessee and Kentucky sent their quotas usually by way of Natchez and Concordia Parish, these people finding homes along the river and the bayous. Around Cheneyville in the southern part of the parish, the settlers from South Carolina located. The greater part of the original South Carolina group went first to Wilkinson County Mississippi Territory settling around Woodville, and from there they moved to Bayou Boeuf in the Red river valley.

Among the names found in the old land records whose former places of residence can at this time be definitely determined, were those of John and Frances Henderson from Virginia, as were the Blanchards, the Pattersons, and William Christy. The Maddox, Dent, and Calvit families came from Maryland. The Wells family was from South Carolina but all of the members found in Rapides were born in the Parish of St. Landry. The Miller and Fulton families were from Pennsylvania. The Texadas (formerly Tejada) came to Louisiana from Natchez; Meullions from France, and Archinards from Switzerland. The original Poirets, Lamothes, and LeDouxs came from the Illinois country, and the Layssards were natives of Louisiana.

Among other names found in these old records were Adam Hoffman and Huffman, Thomas Hooter, George Curtis, James

Jett, Abram and Abraham Martin, Hugh Bailey, the Lovelaces (Edward, John, George, Richard, Thomas and Cecelia) Samuel Davenport, Nicholas Welsh, William Cook the surveyor, Terrence Clark; James Holloway, Pierre Baillio, Edward Fay, Stephen Lynch, Samuel Glass, Francois Escoffie, who later changed the name to Innis, Stephen Cuny, Michel Hooter, Nicholas Chatelin, Louis Huit and a number of other names which seem to indicate their point of origin to have been England or Ireland principally.

Caesar Archinard came to Rapides from the vincinity of Bayou Chicot, in the present Evangeline Parish formerly St. Landry. He first served as the civil commandant of the post for a short time during 1789-1790, later he was the alcalde. He was a large land owner and an extensive planter. Another Spanish official was Joseph Chevallier Poiret who was commandant in 1797 during the absence of Layssard, and later he was named the syndic of the post. LeDoux was another acting commandant and Thomas Thompson was syndic at the time of the transfer to the United States. The only other official of whom we have any record is the last Commandant under Spain and the first official of the United States, Ennemond Meullion.

Dr. Meullion was a native of Normandy, France. He was educated as a physician. During the French Revolution he came to Louisiana for political reasons. He first settled in Pointe Coupee, where he remained until after the death of his wife, then he moved to Opelousas and thence to Rapides. Here he engaged in the practice of his profession and carried on large planting operations. His plantation was located on Bayou Boeuf between the present Lecompte and Cheneyville. The exact location is not known. In 1803 he was named as the Civil Commandant of this district, and served in that position until this section became a part of the United States. He was delegated by Spain to represent her in the surrender of this post to France and thence to the United States. Governor Claiborne retained him as the official in charge of this section until the appointment of a County Judge, and then named him as the first Treasurer of the county of Rapides.

A man named Richard Green seems to have been the first saw-mill operator and owner in this section. This mill was on the north side of Red River near the division line between the present Rapides and Grant Parishes. Settlements were gradually made along Red River, Bayous Rapides, Robert, and Boeuf, also along

the Calcasieu River in the west and Catahoula Lake and Little River on the east. There were two settlements on Bayou Rapides. The upper settlement as it was called was at the point where Bayou Rapides or Bayou Jean de Jean leaves the river, the other one was on the Alexandria end of the same stream. The first settlers of this parish engaged in raising cattle for their hides and tallow and in a small way for the cheese made from the milk. All of these products were shipped to New Orleans for sale. Later they engaged in raising indigo on a small scale, but this was not a successful experiment and was abandoned. Cotton eventually replaced indigo and in time became the principal crop of the Red River Valley. The lint was packed in bales of two or three hundred pounds. It was crudely separated from the seed as the cotton gin and cotton press had not yet been perfected. This cotton was transported to the New Orleans market by means of the flat boat.

The population of the Rapides district, including the present Parishes of Avoyelles, Catahoula, LaSalle and a part of Grant in 1785 was given as 212 whites and 138 free persons of color, the number of slaves not being given. In 1792, the population of the district was white 920, with 250 free people of color, again the number of slaves not being given. In 1799 the population had so increased that the same territory is credited with 3000 whites and 2000 slaves. It is said that this great increase in population was due to the flood of immigration from the United States to take advantage of the liberal offers of land from the Spanish government. At the time of the transfer of Louisiana to the United States in 1803, the population of Rapido was given as 150 white people.

The earliest known record of a land entry in Rapides is dated 1764, and reads as follows:

> Natchitoches June 29 1764
> "To Mr. LePrerie, Commandant for the King at Natchitoches and dependencies:
> Vincent Poiret, desirous of settling a tract of land, requests two arpents above the batture of the Rapides, and four in the bayou called the river aux Cannes.
>
> Natchitoches July 5, 1764
> We, Chevalier de St. Louis, commandant for the King at the post of Natchitoches, Red River and dependencies, concede and grant, under the good will of Mr. Dabadie, to the named Vincent Poiret, two arpents of land above the batture of the Rapides, and four other arpents on the bayou

called the river aux Cannes, provided it shall be of no detriment to the neighbors.

Le Prerie.

New Orleans September 1 1764

We, Director General and commandant of Louisiana for the King, permit the named Vincent Poiret to settle on the six arpents of land above mentioned, until a title in form shall be given him.

DABADIE."

This land was eventually patented by the United States to Poiret, and its location was fixed as the junction of the mouth of Bayou Rapides and Red River.[26]

For many years just prior to the Louisiana Purchase there was a regular business carried on by horse traders between Texas and the American side of the Mississippi at Natchez. One of the favored routes was below Nacadoches across the Sabine thence down Bayou Rapides to the Rapids and then on to the Mississippi. At various places along this trail these traders would leave part of their drove until the market would warrant their being carried across the Mississippi. The caravan of Nolan was seized on one trip by the troops from Natchitoches before they could cross the river at Rapido, and the men and the horses taken to Natchitoches. Later this type of trade seems to have been condoned by the Spanish officials, for as late as 1804 we find John Walker, an officer in the Spanish Army of Texas, sending horses and mules to Natchez, then a part of the United States to be sold for his account and the money remitted in part to him and in part to help build a church near Nacadoches.[27]

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[26] American State Papers (Public Lands) Vol. 2, p. 798.

[27] Hale (Rev. E. E.) The Real Phillip Nolan, Mississippi Historical Society Publications, Vol. 4, p. 281. Letter of John P. Walker in possession of the author.

Other authorities used. Gayarré, Martin, and Fortier's Histories of Louisiana. Paul Alliot's Reflections, Robertson (J. A.) Louisiana Under Spain, France and the United States, 1785-1807. American State Papers (Lands).

(To be Continued)

EDUCATION IN LOUISIANA IN THE CLOSING DECADES OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY[1]

By EDWIN LEWIS STEPHENS
President, Southwestern Louisiana Institute

I APPRECIATE the honor of being invited to address you. During many years I have greatly valued the privilege of membership in this society,[2] and although I have very rarely been able to attend its meetings, I have read its publications with the deepest interest. Its development of the Louisiana Historical Quarterly during recent years has seemed to me to be the most worthy contribution to history, scholarship, and culture that our State has hitherto produced.

Since I have been invited to speak on some historical subject, and since my lot in life has been cast in the field of education, I have chosen to offer a brief and limited contribution that I think could be properly included under the heading, "Education in Louisiana in the Closing Decades of the Nineteenth Century." In part it will be some account of my own education, such as it was. I would not presume to attempt the method of the late distinguished historian, scholar and diplomat, whose life was so filled with the salient world activities of his time that when he wrote, in effect, a history of the United States during a given period, it was really his autobiography—entitled "The Education of Henry Adams". But in fact the only vivid and vital contribution that I can make to the general subject of education in Louisiana in the Eighties and Nineties will inevitably include those phases of it which I saw and felt and lived in, myself. Pardon me then if I must largely describe my own experience, which I do in a spirit of sincere humility.

Nobody was rich in our part of the State, or our part of the whole country, at the time in which my lot was cast—save in the heritage and the tradition of the curiosity to know, eagerness to learn, the desire for education, appreciation of culture, and aspiration towards better things. It was not a case of the poor having to go to the public schools, while the well-to-do were sent off, as of yore, to the better educational facilities in the north and in Eu-

[1] Address before the Louisiana Historical Society at the Cabildo, New Orleans, Tuesday evening, June 21, 1932.

[2] I joined October 14, 1899.

rope. The people were all poor. Speaking for communities such as Natchitoches in the early Eighties, the public school was very small and inadequate, and not as well equipped to serve as were the small private schools, conducted at very small cost, by local scholars of talent with ability to teach. Learning the alphabet was often acquired in infancy with the help of good old grandmothers who taught the letters from the initial letters in the chapters of the large family Bible. Emerson's story of the boy's astonishment when he found the shape of the letter "W" was appreciated in many a home of the pre-public-school days, where children were introduced into these curious discoveries in some such manner as this. The McGuffey Readers, with their intriguing illustrations, were brought into the homes, where older members of the family helped the children to read them. And the first attempts at writing and arithmetic and map study were taken up at about the age of six in the public school or in any one of the private schools referred to above. In such a school in 1880 I recall, with a pardonable tribute of appreciation, the service of William C. Jack; father of William H. Jack, well-known lawyer of that period, who was State Superintendent of Education under Nicholls in 1891-92; grandfather of United States District Judge George Whitfield Jack—as well as of Marcus L. Dismukes, present Mayor of Natchitoches, and Mrs. John H. Overton of Alexandria; and great-grandfather of Pike Hall and Ada Jack Carver. Mr. Jack, in a little room with boys and girls, was a Primary and Elementary School, in the sense in which Mark Hopkins on one end of a log with Jim Garfield at the other, was a University. The conditions were narrow and the equipment meager, but the spirit of reaching for education was present, and in many a man and woman of Natchitoches, from this and other private schools and the public schools of that day, was instilled the sense of educational values which later brought into being in that place the public institution which has become the great Louisiana State Normal College. When that institution was established and located in Natchitoches in 1884, the fundamental problem of the development of the public schools in the State of Louisiana had the makings of its solution.

More light is thrown upon the status of education at that time when it is recalled that after a pupil had, in effect, completed the work that was offered at "Grandpa Jack's School," or in any of the others, there were not so many places to go. There were no high

schools. The "academies" which had flourished in many towns in former years, at one time subsidized by small appropriations from the State, had been ruined by the War. There was a State college at Baton Rouge—the Louisiana State University; but since there were no high schools, it had to have two years of sub-freshman work—and even this was too high, and many students unable to make the grade had to go to "Magruder's", a preparatory school in Baton Rouge, for a year or two before being ready for the sub-freshman classes at the University. To make up as well as possible for this deficiency in facilities preparing for college, a number of small denominational colleges played their part in various sections of the State—such as Mansfield Female College (Methodist), Keachie College (Baptist), Mount LeBanon College (Baptist), Silliman Institute (Presbyterian); and also the preparatory departments of colleges like Centenary (Methodist), Jefferson (Catholic), and the University of Louisiana, the public foundation which had not yet become Tulane. It was my privilege to attend at Keachie. This and similar institutions were groups of devoted men and women, a few real scholars, keeping school at very small cost, and providing departments for all grades, from the primary to some genuine collegiate courses. There were deficiencies in organization, but a flame of culture was on the altar. Classic traditions were handed down. Latin, Greek, Mathematics, French, German, Music, Grammar, Logic—and double entry Bookkeeping! —were taught and taught well. One name among several that should be particularly remembered for service in passing on the torch of learning at Keachie in the Eighties is James F. Greer, graduate of Bardstown College, Kentucky. He taught Latin, Greek, German—and almost everything; and taught with enthusiasm. He afterward became a professor in Baylor University, Waco, Texas, until his accidental death some years later. His widow still lives there, loved by students and alumni, as a kind of college mother.

Four or five years in a school like one of these was ample preparatory experience for one of the college courses at the State University. For myself, the interpolation at this point of a year of practical experience with the mechanism of Transportation, the new phase of American life introduced into our section of country at this time, namely, "Railroad Civilization", served for variety in the transition period—from secondary to collegiate study. The fortunes of my railroading experience as a telegrapher took me

away into a middle western state, Iowa, which gave me the stimulus of that latitude and contact with a new variety of human touch, affording a further background and foundation for the college experience to be later had at our State University in Baton Rouge.

Without attempting to describe in detail that phase of our educational history represented by the State University of that period, I will only record in this paper a few of the names of the men in whose classrooms I and my particular group of associates (students of the Classics) enjoyed the rare privilege of contact and instruction. James W. Nicholson, President, was a rare scholar and teacher of Mathematics. William H. Magruder, successor to T. D. Boyd in the Chair of English, was a devoted and efficient scholar and teacher of the English Language and Literature. Charles Chollet, a graduate of Harvard, a Swiss, and a descendent of that Charles Chollet whose name Thorwaldsen carved below the Lion of Lucerne, in the lower left hand corner of the list of the famous Swiss Guard that was slaughtered in defense of Louis the Sixteenth—was a masterful instructor and interpreter in the Languages—Latin, Greek, and French. William H. Goodale, first cousin of the famous Harvard professor, George Goodale, was an excellent scholar and preceptor in Psychology, Ethics, and Philosophy. Other leading men in the Faculty of that day were B. B. Ross, Chemistry, famous in the Polytechnic Institute of Alabama, where the present new laboratory in Chemistry is named in his honor; William Carter Stubbs, of the Audubon Sugar School, William H. Dalrymple, member of the Royal College of Veterinary Surgeons in London, and Harcourt A. Morgan, now President of the University of Tennessee, who were a great trio in the teaching of Agriculture; John Hampton Randolph in Mechanics; Arthur T. Prescott in History and Political Science (still in the faculty); Henry P. McCain of Mississippi, a Second Lieutenant in the Army, who afterwards became a Major General commanding a division in the World War, Military Science; (and later Lieutenant Elisha S. Benton, of Massachusetts)—these and others may be remembered by University students of that period as constituting the basis of a rich and liberal college life.

Part of my education during the summer vacations from the University consisted in serving as telegrapher at Baton Rouge Junction (Addis) and at Alexandria, and also, at the end of my Junior year, in teaching a one-room country public school at Provencal—I having obtained a First Grade Certificate, upon ex-

amination, from the Superintendent of Natchitoches Parish. (One question he asked on examination was, "What is the opening sentence of Shakespeare's King Richard the Third?")

Upon graduation from the University in 1892, I was drawn by chance into service in the faculty of the State Normal School in Natchitoches, in association with Thomas D. Boyd, its President. At this point I think I may confidently assert that I have arrived at my subject —"Education in Louisiana in the Closing Decades of the Nineteenth Century." I am glad of an opportunity, while that great schoolmaster is still living,* to pay to him the sincere tribute of my humble opinion that to him, more than to any other man, is due the credit for that foundation for the cause of public education in Louisiana during the closing decades of the Nineteenth century, upon which has been built the structure of the organization of public education which exists in this State today. Thomas Duckett Boyd, a Virginian, who came to Louisiana in 1868 with his elder brother, the gallant Confederate Major, David French Boyd, Master of Arts from the University of Virginia, who had aided William T. Sherman in starting the Louisiana State Seminary and Military academy, was educated in Louisiana and became a graduate of the University in the class of 1872. A diligent student and classical scholar, he continued his studies and afterwards became a professor of English in the University. He acquired a reputation with all his students for purity of style, logic of thinking, reasonableness and wisdom of counsel, pre-eminent fairness in "marking" or "grading" of students in class, firmness with kindliness in discipline, and the uttermost cleanness and integrity of character. In 1888 he was called to the presidency of the State Normal School at Natchitoches. And it was here in eight years that he did the great work for public education in Louisiana. He saw and understood the condition of education in the State. He realized that the solution lay in the development of a popular demand for free public schools in every town and village in every parish. He mobilized the support and vigorous assistance of able friends and agencies for public education. He enlisted a large and generous measure of support from the Peabody Fund, through its distinguished Agent, Doctor J. L. M. Curry. He organized Teachers' "institutes" and summer normal schools at public expense in every part of the State. He aided in the organization

* Colonel Boyd died November 3, 1932.—Ed.

of the Louisiana Educational Association, the forerunner of the present Louisiana Teachers Association. He organized the Louisiana School Review, forerunner of the present Journal of the Louisiana Teachers Association. He wrote the law providing for a State Institute Conductor, forerunner of the more thoroughly organized State Department of Education existing today. He brought to the State year after year as a popular evangelist and orator for the awakening of the spirit of public education, Martin Grove Brumbaugh, a young County Superintendent in Pennsylvania, who afterwards became successively a professor of Education in the University of Pennsylvania, City Superintendent of the schools of Philadelphia and Governor of Pennsylvania. He brought into the faculty of the State Normal School Beverly C. Caldwell, of Kentucky, at the time one of the most skillful schoolmasters in the State of Illinois, who became the first State Institute Conductor, and afterwards President of the State Normal School when Colonel Boyd was called to the presidency of the State University. Boyd's personality and character, and the confidence reposed in him by the people of the State, quickly doubled and trebled the attendance at the State Normal School. He had as a pupil there Thomas H. Harris, destined to become the greatest individual factor in the growth of public education in Louisiana in three decades of the new century. He elevated the public idea of the mission of the teacher and the great work that had to be done in the State, from the dimmest awareness into an enthusiam like the call to a crusade. In me he inspired the first real appreciation I had had, of the ideal of public education later enunciated by John Dewey—that the culture the wisest and best parents desire for their own children, the Community should desire and should provide for all of its children. When he was elected to the presidency of the University in 1896, he declined—in a telegram in which he expressed the belief that he could better serve the State in the teaching of teachers at the Normal School. It was only after a second election, and after the urging of a delegation from friends of the University, that he was persuaded to return to that institution. For thirty years after that time he rendered an inestimable service as President of the University; but those years in Natchitoches will hold a pre-eminent place in his lasting fame as a Louisiana schoolmaster.

I enjoyed five years of participation in the work of education in Louisiana in the Nineties, in association with Boyd and Caldwell, Aswell, Williamson, and many other of the outstanding school men

that the times had called forth, not only in our own State, but also notably what may be termed "The Pennsylvania Infusion"; for Brumbaugh had sent here from Pennsylvania, at Colonel Boyd's request, about a half dozen young men who had proved themselves in the art and skill of teaching—such as R. L. Himes, J. E. Keeny, D. B. Showalter, B. S. Landis, and W. M. Howe—who helped in lifting the standard of the classroom teacher.

I took opportunities in the summer to study schools and teaching and methods in other parts of the Country—at the National Summer School in Glens Falls, N. Y.; at the Sauveur Summer School of Language; (the chief man in this school, after Sauveur, was James Hardy Dillard, of the faculty of Tulane University—the best teacher of Latin I have ever known); at the Cook County Normal School, under the famous Colonel Francis W. Parker; at the Harvard Summer School; and at our own Summer Institutes and the Chautauqua. One summer included visits to the principal Normal Schools of Pennsylvania. And after that I seized an opportunity to make further professional preparation for the work I had entered upon, by undertaking two years of graduate study in the School of Education of New York University. By a surprising coincidence, my interlude of railroad experience had placed my name in a favored position for obtaining a Railroad Scholarship from the Southwest in that institution—given to the University by Miss Helen Gould, daughter of Jay Gould, as a memorial to her father. Notice of this Scholarship came to Louisiana through the State Department of Education, and was forwarded to Colonel Boyd.[3] He called me into his office and said: "Here is a Scholarship that seems to have been designed for you; it is for a Texas and Pacific Railroad employee who is a college graduate and has had four years of successful experience in teaching. You are the only one I know of who meets all these conditions." I gladly applied for it, and promptly received the award. And by this study away from home I was led to learn more of education at home. For I was assigned at the University, as a special subject, the study of public education in Louisiana at that time. This study, as it turned out, has been continued indefinitely for the years intervening since that time. And it is with a great deal of pride and satisfaction for the development of our State, that I look today upon a comparison of the data that we had on this

[3] It was Colonel Boyd also who put the late James B. Aswell in the way of getting the Peabody Scholarship which gave him a college education in Nashville, Tenn.

subject thirty years ago with the data you may now read in the current report of the State Superintendent of Education in Louisiana. It is a story like an Arabian tale. It is not unworthy of an era in which Transportation took to the Airplane and Communication took to the Radio.

In order to learn, while a student in New York, about education in Louisiana, aside from the meager data of my experience, such as that I have been giving you here, I was obliged to consult the libraries of that city, where I found that there was not very much information to be had about Louisiana. The number of cards in the card index under the title of Louisiana in the Astor Library and in the Lenox Library, was very small. One surprising fact was that both these libraries had files of the Crowley Signal, together with much information about the planning and development of that city as the Rice Capital of Louisiana. I hope it may be possible now and in the future for students interested in Louisiana to find in any large library bound volumes of the Louisiana Historical Quarterly—and many other vital first hand sources of information regarding our really wonderful state. I did find, however, a bibliography quite large enough for the purpose of the small study I was making. The most helpful and informing were documents from the United States Bureau of Education, including especially the "History of Education in Louisiana" by Doctor Edwin Whitfield Fay, 1898. These I supplemented with reports from the office of the State Superintendent of Education, college catalogues in Louisiana, various histories of Louisiana, and letters from friends in the State in reply to a questionnaire I sent out for this purpose. Among other things, I learned that the estimated wealth of the State at that time was something over two hundred and fifty millions of dollars, or a per capita average giving us a middle position among the southern states in the scale of average individual wealth; something below the record for Georgia, Florida and Texas, and above Mississippi, Arkansas, Alabama, and the two Carolinas. I learned that the historic sub-stratum of popular education with us was public charity; that our first State appropriations were in the form of subsidies granted to private schools to provide for "the education of indigent children and the diffusion of knowledge among the poorer classes of society." I found that Governor Roman in his message to the Legislature in 1832, complained that these appropriations, "allowed with so much liberality by the State," were but little appreciated. The period during

which State aid to education in Louisiana was rendered thus in the form of quasi-charity (1812-1845) was characterized by only sporadic attempts at a system of schools for the people. Doctor Fay stated that, "among the subsidized academies there was no organization and no uniformity, and, but for the legal requirement of free instruction for a certain number of needy children, each of these schools was a law unto itself."

I learned that the start towards a genuine system of public education in Louisiana was made in New Orleans in 1841, and that its direction came from New England, almost from the very hand of the great master organizer of the American common schools, Horace Mann. Being empowered in that year to make provision for the education of her children, New Orleans at once secured the services of Mr. A. J. Shaw, a former co-laborer with Mr. Mann in organizing the common-school system of Massachusetts, who thus became the founder of the first system of public instruction in the southwest. (Article on Horace Mann, p. 734, and article on Henry Barnard, p. 810, by Rev. A. D. Mayo in U. S. Commissioner's Report, 1897). This movement was successful. Subsidies were abolished. Tution was made free to all. The fame of the New Orleans school went abroad in the state and in neighboring states. When the new State Constitution was adopted in 1845, provision was made for free public schools throughout the State, modeled after this plan in the older states. In 1847, under appropriate laws thus set up, with Alexander Dimitry as first Superintendent, the Louisiana Department of Public Education entered upon its history.

Without going into the detail of the progress, difficulties, or shortcomings of this undertaking from the time of its beginning to the time of the War Between the States, I may pass at once to the obvious statement that the War practically ended whatever might have been begun; and that after the War, when the "Carpet-bag" Constitution of 1868 provided for a single school in each parish which should be free to "all children of the State between the ages of six and twenty-one years, without distinction of color, race or previous condition," it destroyed all hope of a real system of public education in Louisiana for the period of the Reconstruction Era. That period approached its end in 1877 when General Francis T. Nicholls became Governor of the State—recognized at Washington in a manner which has always been regarded as if the Republican Party had traded the recognition of Right in

Louisiana in exchange for our acquiesence in the setting up of Wrong in the national capitol. "The inexpediency of commingling the two races in social ways," wrote Doctor Fay, "has since been amply demonstrated by the course of events. The laws (as to mixed schools) were never observed, lacking that indispensable requisite of popular government—the consent of the governed. As far as these laws were enforced, it amounted to the exclusion of the whites from the schools altogether" (History of Education in Louisiana, p. 101). The times were a kind of Middle Ages for all political and civil activities in the State; and the only datum of real public education service in the State in these years is the wise contribution of monies from the Peabody Education Fund, through its enlightened Agent, Doctor Barnas Sears. $64,230 were thus wisely distributed between 1870 and 1880 for the aid of those schools throughout the State that gave promise of doing the most good—and especially the Peabody Normal Seminary in New Orleans, for whites and the Peabody Normal School, also in New Orleans, for negroes. These amounts were alloted by the local Agent of the Peabody Fund, Mr. R. M. Lusher, afterwards State Superintendent.

After the adoption of the Constitution of 1879, with the white people of the State restored to power, a steady growth of public institutions was made possible. Provision for public education was indeed meager. The prime necessity then before the minds of men was for an effective judiciary system in the State, to put down the lawlessness into which many communities had lapsed; and levees along the Mississippi River were sorely needed. The Constitution required an annual poll tax of one dollar for school purposes, but no other definite tax was guaranteed by the Constitution for the schools. Article 224 only provided that "the General Assembly shall provide for the establishment, maintenance and support of public schools." The office of State Superintendent was provided with a salary of two thousand dollars per year; but the office of Parish Superintendent, also reestablished, carried only a salary of two hundred dollars a year! The people had been aroused by the wasting of such appropriations during the period of Reconstruction.

But the spirit of public education now began to rise. The complication concerning the two races was now effectually removed, the contempt for public schools as a method of charity was gradually passing out and the favor of the people towards the public

schools was being made manifest in organization and through the press.

The schools of New Orleans were in a comparatively advanced state of organization, and their influence was being spread through educational periodicals. The Louisiana Journal of Education, the first of its kind in the State, had been founded in 1879 and was being conducted by R. M. Lusher, the State Superintendent, and William O. Rogers, City Superintendent of New Orleans. The Louisiana Educational Association was organized in 1883. It helped to arouse general interest in education and to bring to the people of the State a sense of their backwardness in the matter of common schools, and to interpret for Louisiana the revelations of the census on illiteracy. In 1884 the Louisiana State Normal School was created, "to train teachers for the public schools of Louisiana." In 1886 Henry E. Chambers founded the Progressive Teacher, especially devoted to the public schools and the classroom. In 1888 Thomas D. Boyd came to the presidency of the Louisiana State Normal School, and this year a law was enacted providing for Parish Teachers' Institutes. In 1892 the Louisiana Chautauqua was established at Ruston. This proved a great rallying point in the summer for all who were interested in promoting education. Eminent speakers and teachers from all parts of the State participated, coming from the State Normal School, the University, the New Orleans High Schools, and from Tulane University and Newcomb College. Doctor Brandt Van Blarcom Dixon, Ellsworth Woodward, and Miss Clara G. Baer came from Newcomb; Doctor James H. Dillard, William Woodward, and Alcee Fortier came from Tulane; C. Alphonso Smith came from the State University; Henry M. Gill and Reginald Somers Cocks came from the New Orleans Boys' High School; and a number came from the State Normal and other schools. Classroom teaching and Chautauqua lectures were given for from four to six weeks each summer.

In December, 1892 (this is the 40th Anniversary Year), the Louisiana State Public School Teachers Association was established at Alexandria, to "elevate the profession of teachers and to promote the interests of the public schools of Louisiana." Its Legislative Committee, with President Thomas D. Boyd as Chairman, drafted and secured the enactment of the State Institute Law in 1894, creating the new office of State Institute Conductor, and providing for twenty weeks of State Teachers' Institutes each year. Under the initiative of this Association the Louisiana

School Review was established in 1894, forerunner of the present Journal of the Louisiana Teachers Association. In the same year the Louisiana Polytechnic Institute at Ruston was established—to be followed six years later by the establishment of a similar institution at Lafayette in Southwestern Louisiana. These schools had to begin in the elementary and secondary fields, but were to become in a sense the measure of the State's educational substructure—by being forced gradually up, through the development of elementary and high schools under them in every parish in the state, until in 1920 they had reached the status of standard colleges. One fact should here be noted, as to the nomenclature of these schools. They were first named "Industrial" Institutes—in apparent complete unawareness of the fact that this adjective had been used for a hundred years in England and North America, to signify *reform schools*, a kind of penal institution to which juvenile offenders were sentenced. The error was corrected by the Contsitution of 1921 but the force of long custom has given annoying persistence to the old name, and the real injury thereby to these two standard American Colleges of Liberal Arts and Education, has continued to have effect.

All these awakening movements aroused both teachers and people and made a perceptible impress upon the new State Constitution of 1898, and upon subsequent legislation. Payment of the annual poll tax of one dollar for the maintenance of the public schools was made a prerequisite of the exercise of the voting privilege. One and one-quarter mills of property taxation was required to be levied by the State for public schools. The limitation of salary for the office of parish superintendent was raised from two hundred to twelve hundred dollars a year. The limit of salary and expense for the office of State Superintendent was raised from three thousand to four thousand per year. Parishes, municipalities, wards and school districts were given the privilege to tax themselves at special elections in excess of the usual limitation of "ten mills on the dollar for all purposes," for additional support to the local public schools.

The Constitution of 1879 had only served to close the Era of Spoliation. The Constitution of 1898 now made it possible for the development of public education to begin.

In conclusion I offer you the opportunity to compare some statistics of public education in Louisiana in the closing years of

the Nineteenth Century with the corresponding data available in the current report of the State Superintendent of Education.

I present now the courses of study of six representative high schools in Louisiana, as presented to me by my friends, the principals of the schools in each case, for the session of 1898-99:

I.

FRANKLIN HIGH SCHOOL, ST. MARY PARISH

[4]Alexis Brian, Principal

7th Grade	8th Grade	9th Grade
Advanced Arithmetic	Algebra (completed)	Geometry
Algebra	Geometry	English
Physical Geography	Rhetoric	Chemistry
Botany	English Literature	Latin
General History	Physics	Psychology
American Literature	English History	Civics
Elocution	Latin	
Rhetoric		

ADDITIONAL DATA

a. Recitation periods of thirty minutes and forty minutes.
b. Examination held at end of each term; 70% being the requirement for promotion—when taken in connection with class standing.
c. About 5% of those in attendance graduate—being about twelve each year.
d. For the most part this course ends the schooling of the pupils in attendance; but a few go to college—and, usually, before they finish the high school course!

II.

ST. LANDRY HIGH SCHOOL—OPELOUSAS

[5]Thomas H. Harris, Principal

8th Grade	9th Grade	10th Grade
Advanced Arithmetic	General History	Astronomy
Algebra	Algebra	Algebra
Latin, or French	Chemistry	Latin, or French
—or Bookkeeping	Physics	—or Bookkeeping
General History	Latin, or French	Geometry
Lockwood's English	—or Bookkeeping	Literature
	Literature	Civil Government
		Reviews in a number of studies

[4] Mr. Brian, prominent New Orleans lawyer, was in the audience, when this datum from his experience as a school principal thirty-four years ago was presented.

[5] Mr. Harris has been State Superintendent of Education in Louisiana since 1908. This datum of his work as a high school principal is from the year 1898.

NOTES

a. All grades write and draw.
b. Recitation periods are forty minutes in length.
c. Frequent examinations throughout the term.
d. "Literary Society" not yet found profitable.
e. About 10% of high school attendance (110) complete the course. Of these 90% get no further schooling; the rest enter college—freshman-class.

III.

MARKSVILLE HIGH SCHOOL (a Private School), AVOYELLES PARISH
[6]V. L. Roy Principal

8th Grade	9th Grade	10th Grade
Physics	Geometry	Geometry
Bookkeeping	English & Literature	Literature
Algebra	Louisiana or English	Psychology
Lockwood's English	History	Latin
General History	Latin	Astronomy
Latin	Botany	Singing
Singing	Singing	

NOTES

a. Literary and debating society meets each week, giving public meetings monthly; edits school paper (not printed).
b. Promotions made upon teachers' recommendations, and not on examinations.
c. No graduates yet.

IV.

OUACHITA PARISH HIGH SCHOOL, MONROE
[7]H. H. Byrd Principal

9th Grade	10th Grade	11th Grade
English and Southern Literature	Latin	Latin
	French	Physics
General History	English and Southern Literature	American Literature
Botany		Geometry
Civics	History	
Latin	Algebra	
Arithmetic (Reviewed)		

NOTES

a. Periods of thirty minutes each except in mathemetics, forty.
b. Promotions made on class standing and examinations.
c. About 7% (of 125) graduate.
d. Of nine graduates in last class, two have entered college—freshman class, one being denied admission to sophomore class because of not having had zoology.

[6] Mr. Roy was President of the State Normal College for eighteen years, 1911-1929.

[7] Mr. Byrd was a younger brother of the late C. E. Byrd, veteran high school principal of Shreveport.

V.

IBERIA HIGH SCHOOL, NEW IBERIA

[8]J. E. Keeny, Principal

Grade	First Year—First Term		First Year—Second Term	
8th	Arithmetic	5	Arithmetic	5
	Physical Geography	3	Algebra—(begin)	5
	Grammar & Composition	5	Grammar & Composition	5
	U. S. History (completed)	5	Elocution	2
	Elocution	2	Commercial Geography	3
9th	Second Year—First Term		Second Year—Second Term	
	Latin (begin)	5	Latin	5
	Algebra	5	Grammar and Composition	3
	Arithmetic	5	Literature	2
	Physiology	5	General History	2
	Grammar & Composition	3	Algebra	5
			Geometry (begin)	3
10th	Third Year—First Term		Third Year—Second Term	
	Geometry	3	Latin	5
	Latin	5	Rhetoric	2
	Literature	3	Literature	3
	Grammar & Composition	2	Geometry	5
	General History	5	Physics	5
	Algebra	2		
11th	Fourth Year—First Term		Fourth Year—Second Term	
	Latin	5	Latin	5
	Literature	3	Botany	2
	Rhetoric	2	Chemistry	3
	Geometry	3	Reviews in Arithmetic,	
	Bookkeeping	5	Algebra, U. S. History,	
	Political Economy and Civil Government	2	Physiology, Physical Geography, Grammar, and Physics,	

Note 1—Orthography, Music, Penmanship, Drawing, Composition and Physical Culture, throughout the course.

Note 2—Figures indicate numbers of recitations (40 minutes) per week.

Note 3—"Literary Society" one hour each week.

Note 4—There shall be no elective studies pursued in the schools.

Note 5—3% of pupils complete the course.

Note 6—40% of graduates enter college—freshman class.

Note 7—Promotions made not upon examinations but upon occasional tests—and teachers' recommendations.

[8] Mr. Keeny was president of the Louisiana Polytechnic Institute for twenty years, 1907-1927.

VI.

CENTRAL HIGH SCHOOL, LAKE CHARLES

[9]C. G. Shaffer, Principal

Grade	First Year—First Term		First Year—Second Term	
8th	Arithmetic	5	Commercial Geography	5
	Physical Geography	5	Algebra	5
	Grammar & Composition	5	Zoology	5
	History	5	Grammar & Composition	5
	Drawing and Writing	2 ea.	Elocution	1
	Vocal Music	5 half periods	Drawing and writing	2 ea.
			Vocal Music	
9th	Second Year—First Term		Second Year—Second Term	
	Rhetoric	5	Latin	5
	Latin	5	French	5
	French	5	Rhetoric	5
	Botany	5	General History	5
	Algebra	5	Algebra	5
	General History	5	Elocution	3
	Elocution	2	Music	
	Music		Drawing and Writing	
	Drawing and Writing			
10th	Third Year—First Term		Third Year—Second Term	
	Latin	5	Latin	5
	French	4	French	5
	Literature	2	Geometry	5
	Geometry	5	Literature	5
	Physics	5	Physics	5
	Music		Music	
	Drawing and Writing		Drawing and Writing	
11th	Fourth Year—First Term		Fourth Year—Second Term	
	Latin	5	Latin	5
	Chemistry	5	Literature	3
	Literature	4	Chemistry	2
	Geometry &		Civil Government	2
	Trigonometry	3	Trigonometry	3
	Arithmetic & U. S.		French	
	History (Reviewed)		Music	
	French		Drawing and Writing	
	Music			
	Civics			
	Drawing and Writing			

[9] Mr. Shaffer was a graduate of Harvard. He afterwards taught in the State Normal School in Natchitoches and later returned to New Jersey. Besides being a thoroughly trained school man, he was an accomplished musician.

NOTES

a. Figures opposite names of subjects indicate number of recitations (40 minutes) per week.
b. Physical culture is given throughout the course.
c. "Literary Society" meets each week, with a public meeting once a month;—edits school paper (not printed).
d. Company of cadets; glee club; foot ball; basket ball and base ball teams.
e. About 10% of pupils enrolled (700) complete the course.
f. About 30% of graduates enter college—being fitted for sophomore class of either Tulane or the Louisiana State University.
g. The course here outlined is the "Latin or Classical" course; a "General" course is also given which omits Latin and substitutes bookkeeping with other minor changes.

Comparison of these six high school courses shows great diversity of standards—both as to the length of the school period and as to the curriculum of studies. The length of the school year varied from eight to ten months. Some were three-year and other four-year schools. Some began at the seventh grade and some at the eighth grade. There were scarcely more than thirty-five high schools of a similar sort in the State. Conditions in New Orleans were much better. The high schools were well articulated to the freshman classes in Tulane University.

Compare with these data the standard course of study now prescribed by the State Board of Education for the 368 public high schools and also the 58 private high schools in the State:

STANDARD COURSE OF STUDY FOR HIGH SCHOOLS

(Prescribed by State Board of Education)

GENERAL CURRICULUM

Eighth Grade		Ninth Grade	
Required:	Units	Required:	Units
English	1	English	1
Arithmetic, 1st half and Algebra, 2nd half	1	Algebra	1
General Science	1	Civics	1
Elect One:		Elect One:	
Commercial Geography, 1st half and Studies of Louisiana, 2nd half	1	Biology	1
Foreign Language	1	Foreign Language	1
Vocational Subject	1	Vocational Subject	1
Total	4	Total	4

Tenth Grade		Eleventh Grade	
Required:		Required:	
English	1	English	1
Plane Geometry	1	American History	1
General History	1	Chemistry or Physics	1
Foreign Language	1	Foreign Language	1
Total	4	Total	4

NOTE

The following additional courses are also worked out on similar lines: Agricultural curriculum; Home Economics curriculum; Manual Training curriculum; and Commercial curriculum.

In the session of 1899-1900, there were 2,315 high school students enrolled. In the session of 1930-31, the number was 51,541. The number of graduates in the former year was less than 300; in 1930-31 it was 8,113. The number of high school teachers in the former year was little more than 100; in 1930-31, it was 2,479. The principals' salary in 1900 averaged approximately $1,000; in 1930-31, it was $2,150.

The total revenues reported by the State Superintendent for the year 1897 was $1,052,420.11; the corresponding revenues for the session 1930-31 (State Superintendent's Report, p. 39), amounted to $20,902,363.34. The population had only doubled; the school revenues had grown as twenty to one!

The total illiterate population of Louisiana ten years of age and over, by the Census of 1900, was 381,145, or 38.5%. (It had been 45.8% in 1890, and 49.1% in 1880). The corresponding figures for the Census of 1930 is a total of 219,750 illiterates ten years of age and over, or 13.5%—an improvement of 25%. Of course, these figures apply to both white and colored. The illiterate native white population ten years of age and over in Louisiana in 1900 numbered 32,227, or 17.3%. The number of colored illiterates ten years of age and over in 1900 was 284,594, or 61.1%. The corresponding figures from the Census of 1930 are as follows: Number of native white illiterates ten years and over, is 71,903, or 7.3%. The number of colored illiterates ten years of age and over, is 139,393, or 23.3%. The improvement in literacy among whites in these thirty years is thus shown by the change from 17.3% to 7.3%. The corresponding improvement in negro literacy is shown by the change from 61.1% to 23.3%. These statistics give an encouraging evidence of genuine progress in this most important of all developments in our civilization.

I will close this paper with an exhibit of a special study I have been following in the Census reports for the three decades from 1900 to 1930, namely, a comparison of the data for native white male illiterates over the age of twenty-one in each parish. I have carried in my pocket for more than thirty years, a list of these figures from the 1900 Census. And it has been heartening to observe the slow but sure decrease in the percentage of illiteracy in this group from decade to decade. Where the total percentage of illiteracy in this group in the State was 16.9% in 1900, it had dwindled to 11.6% in 1920. And I am now waiting with keen interest for the detailed report from the 1930 Census that will show how this particular group has improved.

THE NATCHEZ REBELLION OF 1781 AND ITS AFTERMATH

By John Caughey
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THE siege of Pensacola, conducted by Bernardo de Gálvez in the spring of 1781, had a strange repercussion in the Natchez district. Rebellion, suppression of the revolt, and sympathetic rebellions in the Chickasaw country followed one another in rapid sequence. Yet notwithstanding that in many respects this disturbance was greater than the famous New Orleans insurrection of 1768, about which volumes have been written, historians have taken scant notice of this Natchez rebellion and its aftermath and have left undisturbed in the Spanish archives and elsewhere the documents that contain the story. A few fragments have been presented—for example, the cross-country flight of some of the settlers—but the present paper is the first attempt at a comprehensive narrative.

When the Natchez district first came under Spanish control in the fall of 1779, the settlers were apprehensive that Spanish rule would be a blight to their prosperity and happiness. Experience, however soon set them at ease. Gálvez treated them leniently and considerately, and they found real advantage in trade with Louisiana and in the availability of New Orleans as a trading port.[1]

Nevertheless, subversive influences impinged upon these people. British control persisted over the neighboring Indians, and when the officers at Pensacola ordered the agents resident among the tribes "to form a company of as many whites as possible as well as Indians" to go first to the relief of Mobile and then to the aid of Pensacola, the suggestion was carried to Natchez, producing, however, no favorable response from the settlers.[2]

Soon after Gálvez arrived off Pensacola Bay to begin the actual attack upon Fort George, Campbell appealed more directly for the support of the Natchez settlers. Stretching the truth, though perhaps without exaggerating his optimism, he sent them

[1] Their change of heart is described in Anthony Hutchins to [Miró], July 10, 1785, Archivo General de Indias (Seville), Papeles procedentes de la Isla de Cuba, legajo, 198. (Cited henceforth: A. G. I., Cuba, 198).

[2] Orders from Charles Stuart and General Campbell, quoted in Juan Delavillebeuvre to Gálvez, December 12, 1779, A. G. I., Cuba, 107; Robert Farmer, Journal of the Siege of Pensacola from the time the enemy's fleet first appeared to the 10th of May the day we surrendered to the arms of Spain, MS. copy, Library of Congress; a more abbreviated copy is printed in *Archivo del General Miranda*, I, 179-191.

word that a British fleet was in the Gulf, that it would move against New Orleans, and he appealed to them to assist in the restoration of British control over Natchez. That this uprising might have the appearance of a regular military action, he sent a number of captain's commissions, such as the following, which were to be distributed among the leading settlers where they would do the most good.[3]

> Being informed that the inhabitants of the Natchez who preserve a Spirit of Loyalty to their Rightful Sovereign and retain an Attachment to the happy free and glorious Constitution of Great Britain are sorely etc., etc., etc., greiviously and Tyrannically used by the Despotism of Spain, and Reposing especial Confidence and Trust in your courage, Influence and Abilities to deliver them from such Slavish Oppression, I do therefore by Virtue of the Authority to command to me entrusted by my Sovereign, hereby constitute and appoint you a Captain or Leader of such Volunteer Inhabitants as you can procure to serve under your Command who prefer the British Government to Tyrannick despotism and Rule and are willing to risk their Lives for the attainment thereof and you and all those who shall put themselves under your command are directed and required to act in arms against the Spaniards and against all and every His Majesty's Enemies According to the Rules and Practice of War. And for so doing this shall be to you and them sufficient Warrant and Authority."[4]

This move by Campbell is open to criticism for its disregard of the Baton Rouge capitulation, not to mention the oath the settlers had taken "to be faithful subjects of the [Spanish] King as long as they lived in his territory; neither doing nor permitting to be done anything against his royal person, possessions, or officers."[5] Yet it was perfectly natural that Campbell should want to foment a disturbance which would create a diversion handicapping Gálvez' attack on Pensacola.

Anthony Hutchins claims that Campbell was not the prime mover in this scheme, that he was persuaded to endorse it by John and Philip Alston and John Turner, who in turn had been stirred up by Colonel Montgomery of the Americans. These men, according to Hutchins, fostered the rebellion in hopes that they

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[3] Declaration of Jacob Winfree, July 25, 1781, A. G. I., Cuba, 114.

[4] Campbell, Captain's Commission to Blommart, March 17, 1781, A. G. I., Cuba, 173c. Winfree's is identical, A. G. I., Cuba, 114.

[5] Oath of fidelity administered by Delavillebeuvre and signed by thirty-one settlers, October 20, 1779, A. G. I., Cuba, 107.

would be able to swing the district under American control. Their emissary duped Campbell, convincing him that their intentions were patriotically British. The seal of Campbell's approval, made apparent to the Natchez settlers in the commissions and in an order on the Choctaw traders for ammunition, convinced even the most reluctant that they were duty-bound to support the rebellion. Without this hallmark of respectability it is doubtful that the more substantial citizens would have followed leaders like Christopher Marr, the man who brought the commissions from Pensacola. Hutchins depicts him thus:

> a noted vagabond of bad character & abandoned principles, well known in most of the Provinces & the States on the Continent for the many capital crimes he had (for a series of years) committed, and for the jails he had broken to make his escape; this respectable Embassader . . . .[6]

In his antagonism toward the Alstons *et al*, Hutchins may exaggerate, but obviously revolutionary sentiment in the district was carefully nursed along. Marr first confided his success to the Alstons and Turner; then the British aspect of the scheme was revealed to a few more settlers; but those, such as Hutchins, whose approval was most doubtful, were informed only at the eleventh hour. To them were presented the bald alternatives of supporting the rebellion or losing their lives and property. Thanks to this skillful and unscrupulous management by the original instigators, the rebellion received virtually unanimous support from the settlers, and one of the most reputable of them, John Blommart, was induced to assume leadership.[7]

On April 22 with a force of two hundred men, settlers and Indians, Blommart began his attack on Fort Panmure. Despite their endeavors at secrecy, the rebels found Delavillebeuvre prepared to meet them. He had been warned by "Mr. Mac Yntosh Alexandre" that a movement against the fort was contemplated, and the garrison had slept on its arms. He had sent to Pointe Coupée for help also, but doubted that the messenger got through. Warning the settlers of the consequence of their actions, Delavillebeuvre urged them to disperse. Their answer, however, was to begin firing on the fort. Their fire did some damage—Corporal Blar was wounded on the twenty-third and died a few days later

[6] Hutchins to [Miró], July 10, 1785, A. G. I., Cuba, 198.

[7] *Ibid.*; Declaration of Jacob Winfree, July 25, 1781, A. G. I., Cuba, 114.

—but to bring about the surrender of the fort, the rebels had to supplement absolutely military force with deception.[8]

A messenger from McIntosh was intercepted, who carried a letter vouching for the verbal communication that the messenger would bring. Another carrier was substituted, given the note, and sent in to say that the fort was undermined and that Delavillebeuvre would better surrender. The ruse succeeded. Delavillebeuvre was convinced and agreed to terms of capitulation.[9]

Soon after the fort surrendered, the British party began to break up into factions. The fate of the prisoners became an issue. One proposal was to send them to Pensacola, but Hutchins convinced Blommart that the self-nominated guard for this journey intended to act as executioners as soon as they got away from Blommart's control. Blommart was persuaded to send Delavillebeuvre and his seventy-six men down to Baton Rouge under reliable guard. They made the journey unmolested. Another issue was the question of raising the American flag instead of the British. Blommart was sufficiently warned and nipped this plan in the bud. The Alston-Turner faction hoped to divide up the stores of supplies at Natchez. They went so far as to break into Delavillebeuvre's baggage, but Blommart administered the captured fort with care. He appointed a commissary, had careful records kept, and only permitted the issuance of such supplies and ammunition as were actually needed. Blommart found an effective check on the more bloodthirsty and avaricious of his followers when he recognized the civil authority of Anthony Hutchins, who had been chief magistrate at Natchez during the old British regime. Most of the settlers approved this step since it seemed to be perfectly regular and in accord with British practice. Its chief consequence was that the more tempestuous holders of Campbell's commissions were shorn of power.[10]

The rebels' confusion was completed when news arrived that Pensacola had fallen to Gálvez. Since the Natchez Loyalists had counted upon British success there and upon a naval attack upon New Orleans, this news paralyzed the rebellion. Some of the settlers fled from the district; others advocated a division of the

[8] Journal of Juan Delavillebeuvre, April 21-May 4, 1781, A. G. I., Cuba, 194; [Certificate of enlistment under Blommart], April, 1781, A. G. I., Cuba, 194.

[9] Journal of Juan Delavillebeuvre, April 21—May 4, 1781, A. G. I., Cuba, 194. According to Claiborne the deception was through a handwriting expert who placed the ominous message over McIntosh's signature, *Mississippi as a Province, Territory and State*, 127-128.

[10] Daybook of the Clerk of the Garrison and Works, April 23—June 1, 1781, A. G. I., Cuba, 194; Receipt book of Blommart's commissaries, Williams and Ferguson, May 14—June 14, 1781, *ibid.*; Hutchins to [Miró], July 10, 1785, A. G. I., Cuba, 198.

goods in the fort preliminary to dispersal of the group; Blommart and a majority of the settlers elected to protect the fort until it could be turned back to the Spaniards and to remain in the district, confident that the Spanish authorities would deal with them as participants in a regular military maneuver rather than in a rebellion.[11]

As soon as Gálvez heard of the Natchez uprising, he reproached his prisoner, Campbell, for having instigated such an irregular and improper opposition to Spanish authority. Notwithstanding the commissions he had issued, Campbell denied responsibility.

> Further Sir the very existence of such an event I have only from your Excellency's Information, and you yourself lately allowed, that you was ignorant of the particulars. Perhaps (if it has a Being) it may be by orders from Canada; or the Ambition of some restless and aspiring Rebel Americans may have been the cause thereof.[12]

This conjecture of American causation has added interest in view of Hutchins' assertion that a pro-American faction had hoodwinked Campbell.

A few days later, having been informed of the terms of capitulation of Delavillebeuvre to Blommart with mention therein of the commission from Pensacola, Campbell wrote more frankly to Gálvez. He admitted that the Natchez uprising was by virtue of his orders and authority and proposed to set matters right by ordering the resurrender of Fort Panmure, "provided that a general Amnesty and Indemnity shall be granted for all past acts whatsoever and that every Inhabitant or others in the District of Natchez shall in every Respect be given the same Footing as those of the District of Pensacola."[13]

Proposing two "Further Additional Articles" for the Pensacola capitulation, he embodied the foregoing suggestions with a statement of the extent of Spanish West Florida, which might have been worth having in Spain's later diplomacy anent the boundary.

> That the District of the Natchez and all and every part, Portion and Division of the province of West Florida According to its most extensive Limits when entirely under the British Government shall be understood to be comprehended and included in this Capitulation.[14]

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[11] *Ibid.*; Panis' examination of Williams, July 2, 1781, A. G. I., Cuba, 173c.

[12] Campbell to Gálvez, May 29, 1781, A. G. I., Cuba, 2359.

[13] Campbell to Gálvez, June 3, 1781, A. G. I., Cuba, 2359.

[14] *Ibid.*

But Gálvez refused to agree to Campbell's propositions on the ground that the Natchez uprising was in the nature of a civil war, a rebellion against Spanish authority, for whose settlement treaty negotiations were inappropriate. A series of reports from Piernas persuaded him that he would have to go to Natchez in person, at the head of an army of seven hundred men. His mind was made up on June 4, and he left soon after this for New Orleans, setting aside plans to go to Havana.[15]

Gálvez' disapproval of Campbell's connection with the rebellion found further expression in the detention of Major James Campbell as a hostage, long after the rest of the Pensacola prisoners had been sent to New York. Replying to Gálvez' charge that Blommart's commission from General John Campbell contained reference to complaints of Spanish misrule at Natchez, the hostage replied that there had been such complaints, though not from Blommart. He claimed also that the Natchez people had been instructed to rise in arms after Gálvez had met defeat at Pensacola and that in their impatience they did not wait.[16] In the wording of Campbell's commissions, though, there is no indication of a time qualification.[17]

Before Gálvez arrived at New Orleans the provincial authorities had sent a small force to recover Fort Panmure. Command of this expedition gravitated to a militia captain, Estevan Robert de la Morandiere. He started from Atakapas with forty militiamen to report to Grand Pré for service against the Natchez rebels. Grand Pré sent him on to Roche á Davion, where other militiamen joined his party. After a few days Grand Pré ordered him on to Natchez.[18]

Morandiere's journal suggests that his northward trip began in timorous and hesitant fashion, but took on courage and ended with the utmost confidence. Hearing on June 2 that Blommart had prepared four batteaux for a raid on Pointe Coupée, he posted sentries in the woods and on the river and sent scouts ahead. The next day George Rapalje and William Courtney appeared as deputies of the "habitants who were still Loyal." Morandiere interviewed them and sent them to Grand Prê. On the twelfth St.

[15] Gálvez to Navarro, June 4, 1781, A. G. I., Cuba, 1233; Gálvez to José de Galvez, July 19, 1781, No. 462, A. G. I., Sto. Dom., 2083.

[16] James Campbell to Ezpeleta, December 18, 1781, A. G. I., Cuba, 194.

[17] See Campbell's commissions to Blommart and Winfree, March 17, 1781, A. G. I., Cuba, 173c and 114.

[18] Miró to Navarro, May 25, 1781, No. 4, A. G. I., Cuba, 1304; Journal of Estevan Robert de la Morandiere, May 25—July 13, 1781, A. G. I., Cuba, 2359.

Germain and Charbonaux were captured. Later on he came to the conclusion that these men had been sent by Blommart to disaffect the Indians and turn them against the Spanish force.[19]

The next emissaries encountered were "Colonel Otchin [Hutchins] & Docteur flavelle [Farrell]." They bore a letter from Blommart supplementing his earlier proposal of "Terms of Accommodation" that he had addressed to the governor. In brief, he had suggested a return to the *status quo ante "rebellum"*; the complete fort would be restored to Spain, and the Natchez people would regain all the rights and privileges provided for by the capitulation of Baton Rouge.[20] This proposal, made on June 2, was almost a duplicate of Campbell's of June 3, except that Campbell would have brought Natchez under the comprehension of the Pensacola capitulation.

Morandiere sent Hutchins and Farrell back with a promise of personal protection, which he made conditional on Grand Pré's approval. Incidentally, he represented that Grand Pré was on the way with artillery and a considerable reenforcement. But as for treating with Blommart, he told them that

> an officer of his majesty, although in the militia, could never treat with one who was not only a rebel but even a traitor, who had voluntarily taken an oath of fidelity to the king but had felt free to return to the service of his former sovereign.[21]

The next day, June 14, he sent a circular through the Natchez district, notifying the habitants that if they returned to their homes the troops and Indians would be ordered not to molest them. For the sake of security he advised them to fly a Spanish flag in front of their houses. On the eighteenth one band of Indians deserted, and he was left with only 43 Indians, 40 militiamen from Atakapas, 26 from Pointe Coupée, and 40 Canadians under Alain's command. To his diary he confided a fervent wish that Grand Pré would hurry, but finding the inhabitants disposed to favor the Spaniards, he resolved to continue.[22]

With Blommart and an armed force looking on, he landed at Natchez on June 22. Blommart announced that he came not to

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[19] *Ibid.*; Blommart to McIntosh, Rapalje and Courtney, June 3, 1781, A. G. I., Cuba, 194.

[20] Blommart to His Excellency the Governor or the Commdr. in Chief his most Catholic Majesty's Forces in Louisiana etc., June 2, 1781, A. G. I., Cuba, 114; Journal of Morandiere, May 25—July 13, 1781, A. G. I., Cuba, 2359.

[21] *Ibid.*

[22] *Ibid.*

attack but to treat for the rendition of the fort. Morandiere replied that he could not and must not treat with a rebel and a traitor. He added that an officer of his Catholic majesty would merit death if he condescended to such negotiations. Blommart's only recourse was to evacuate the fort, surrender his person of his own volition, and throw himself upon the mercy of Governor Gálvez.[23]

Blommart countered with a proposal of conditions of surrender. He proposed, that pending orders from Pensacola, the terms of the Baton Rouge capitulation should apply, a white flag should fly over the fort, and the person of John Blommart should be free. The garrison should be allowed to go home, except for four hostages to be chosen by lot. The formalities of surrender would be observed at ten o'clock on the morning of the twenty-third.[24]

But Morandiere found it unnecessary to enter into a formal agreement. Forty of his men occupied Fort Panmure unopposed, later the guard was doubled, and at sunrise on June 23 Morandiere entered the fort. He sent twenty of his militiamen and eighty of the settlers in pursuit of fugitive rebels, and at ten o'clock (the hour Blommart had proposed for the surrender of the fort) he sent Blommart and three others, Eason, Williams, and Benjamin, under guard to Grand Pré.[25]

Although he deserves a compliment for the efficiency of his actions, Morandiere is open to criticism for the precipitate shipment south of Blommart and his three associates. Blommart may have deserved such treatment, but it was a tactical blunder in that it alarmed several of the other leaders in the revolt and sent them scurrying into the woods where their apprehension was difficult.[26] Hutchins criticized Morandiere later for an indiscriminate acceptance of incriminating testimony from many of the most guilty participants in the rebellion. What hurt especially was that Hutchins was assigned a leading role—and indeed, through his issuance of warrants for goods commandeered during the course of the siege, and by his functioning as civil magistrate after the capture of Fort Panmure, he had been prominent. Claiming that Morandiere's mind had been poisoned against him, Hutchins

[23] *Ibid.*

[24] Blommart, proposed terms of surrender to Morandiere, June 23, 1781, A. G. I., Cuba, 2359.

[25] Journal of Morandiere, May 25—July 13, 1781, A. G. I., Cuba, 2359.

[26] Hutchins to Mero, July 1, 1781, A. G. I., 114.

deemed it prudent to absent himself from his home and even from the district.[27] It is easy to see, though, how Morandiere found it difficult to determine the truth. A tangle of conflicting testimony confronted him, and the settlers vied with each other in laying the blame on someone else. If Hutchins was dealt with unjustly, Morandiere was not entirely to blame.

News of the fall of Pensacola had struck terror to the hearts of many of the Natchez settlers. Realizing that their rebellion could now be easily crushed by the Spaniards, and recalling perhaps the fate of Lafréniere and the other French insurgents in 1768 and 1769, a substantial number fled from the district. About eighty took refuge with the Chickasaws and thirty with the Choctaws. Another small group[28] took to the wilderness with such provisions as they could snatch and headed for the British posts in Georgia and the Carolinas. Pickett, Gayarré, and Claiborne called on their best rhetoric to bring out the pathos of this tragic trek. "Fearful of pursuit, fearful of ambush, dogged by famine, tortured by thirst, exposed to every vicissitude of weather, weakened by disease, more than decimated by death, the women and children dying day by day"—Claiborne conservatively estimates that these poor unfortunates suffered as if in purgatory.[29]

The saddest feature of this hegira is that it was unnecessary. Spanish retribution turned out to be unexpectedly mild. Amnesty was granted to the ordinary participants in the uprising. Some 240 settlers took a new oath of fidelity to Spain soon after Morandiere recovered Fort Panmure, and the fugitives who had fled to the Indian villages began to come back.[30] At the very time that the flight began, Gálvez was expressing himself thus at New Orleans:

> The conduct of the people of Natchez has been infamous, a reflection on all good Englishmen, and a scandal to other nations. Nevertheless, we who know the insignificant effects of the rebellion realize that punishment need not be made severer than to establish respect for the law, and ought not to extend to any innocent habitants.[31]

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[27] Hutchins to [Miró], July 10, 1785, A. G. I., Cuba, 198.

[28] Estimated at "a dozen," presumably a dozen families, Panis' examination of Williams, July 2, 1781, A. G. I., Cuba, 173c.

[29] Claiborne, *op. cit.*, 128-132; Gayarreé, *History of Louisiana*, III, 149-151.

[30] Journal of Morandiere, A. G. I., Cuba, 2359; Hutchins to Mero, July 1, 1781, A. G. I., Cuba, 114.

[31] Gálvez to ———, June 16, 1781, draft, A. G. I., Cuba, 114.

To be sure, the heads of the revolt were sought out, particularly those who had held commissions. Blommart, Eason, Williams, and Benjamin had been sent to New Orleans on the day the fort was recovered. Captains Marr, Fulsom, Turner, Alston, and Alston were pursued, and an offer of £100 sterling was made for their apprehension. Some of these men were never captured, but the majority were brought to trial.[32]

Because other duties called him away to Havana, Gálvez turned the trial of the Natchez leaders over to Jacinto Panis, whose knowledge of English made him the more appropriate to conduct the trials. Gálvez recommended also that he avail himself of the advice of Manuel Andres Lopes de Armesto.[33] Panis began his examination of these first prisoners on July 2. Eason's replies shed little new light on the case. Williams, as Blommart's commissary, though not a holder of one of Campbell's commissions, had a better knowledge of what had gone on at Natchez. He had not participated in the attack and had not seen any of the commissions. He said that Blommart had scrupulously observed the terms of Delavillebeuvre's capitulation, but that Kit Marr and Turner had broken into the Spanish captain's baggage. He stated that Blommart had no thought of attacking other Spanish posts.[34] Panis probably interrogated Benjamin, but I have not uncovered a record of this examination.

The most thorough questioning was naturally that of Blommart. Panis put to him fifty-six queries. The answers revealed that he was a native of Geneva and a Protestant, that he had been commissioned captain by Campbell, receiving the commission on April 20, just two days before the attack was launched. He freely admitted that he was in the district when it was surrendered with Baton Rouge, and that he had taken an oath of fidelity to the king of Spain. Denying that he had any greviance against Spain, he claimed that he joined in the uprising only because he felt that Campbell's orders compelled him to do so. He insisted that he had lived up to the terms of Delavillebeuvre's capitulation and denied ordering the seizure of any boats on the river.[35]

Panis took the case under advisement until the next day, July 6, when he ordered Blommart's property confiscated and the

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[32] Hutchins to [Miró], July 10, 1785, A. G. I., Cuba, 198.

[33] Gálvez to Panis, June 30, 1781, A. G. I., Cuba, 173c.

[34] Panis' examinations of Eason and Williams, July 2, 1781, A. G. I., Cuba, 173c.

[35] Panis' examination of Blommart, July 5, 1781, *ibid.*

four men detained. Zenon Trudeau, apparently acting in the capacity of attorney for the defense, plead with Panis for leniency, largely because of the peaceful submission to Morandiere.[36] The extenuating circumstances in Blommart's favor were best set forth by Hutchins in a letter which arrived after Panis had announced his decision.

> I beg leave to trouble you with a word in favor of Capt. Blommart that let the beginning of his conduct be what it will which I can't Judge of but by information, yet I can truly say that during the time the Fort was in his possession after the Flag was sent that great merit was due to him as he exerted himself to the utmost of his power to preserve from violation the Fort and Military Stores for the use of His Most Catholic Majesty against the will of those who set out with him in the unhappy enterprize, and with certain assistance and other exertions therein thwarted and broke through their intentions machinations and designs. This I only say in his favor in the way of mittigation being tied down both by Honor and principle to plead the cause of one who tho' almost unpardonable on the one hand yet on the other has sacrificed all favor friendship Interest liberty and expectation of every kind to effect at last certain worthy and Honorable purposes enjoin'd of him.[37]

Jacob Winfree was the next one apprehended. In his declaration on July 25, he claimed to have accepted a commission as the only apparent means of protecting his property against the pro-British Indians who were said to be moving toward Natchez. He took credit also for doing all in his power after news came of Pensacola's fall to prevent Eason and some others from destroying the fort.[38] When cross-examined on September 4 and 5, Winfree endeavored to shift responsibility to Blommart, the real captain. Concerning his oath of fidelity in 1779 he maintained that he had thought it binding only for eight months.[39] Winfree was in error on this point; the oath that Delavillebeuvre administered had no time limitation.[40] The confusion probably arose from the fact that the Mobile settlers were to become eligible for an oath of neu-

[36] Panis, Sentence of Blommart, July 6, 1781, *ibid.*; Trudeau to (Panis), July 7, 1781, *ibid.*

[37] Hutchins to Mero, July 1, 1781, A. G. I., Cuba, 114; Williams' receipt book, May 14—June 14, 1781, corroborates, A. G. I., Cuba, 194.

[38] Declaration of Jacob Winfree, July 25, 1781, A. G. I., Cuba, 114.

[39] Cross-examination of Winfree, September 4 and 5, 1781, A. G. I., Cuba, 1376.

[40] Oath administered by Delavillebeuvre, October 20, 1779, A. G. I., Cuba, 107.

trality eight months after the capitulation of Fort Charlotte.[41] Along with Winfree, Joseph Holmes was also interrogated.[42]

Scattered sporadically through the next several months there are bits of evidence about further punishment for the Natchez uprising. Four sons of John Alston and fourteen slaves arrived at New Orleans on September 25.[43] Grand Pré reported the confiscation of all property of the promoters of the rebellion, and sent down John Smith and Parker Caradine on November 1.[44] He asked what to do about an offer from the chief of Achafalé to surrender four of Delavillebeuvre's soldiers who had joined Blommart's rebels. The offer of surrender was on condition that these men be promised their lives. He reported also that he had despatched a party of English settlers to the Chickasaw villages north of Natchez to seize John Alston and Turner.[45] Turner escaped, but Alston and one son and ten slaves were captured. Grand Pré confiscated the slaves, released the son, and sent Alston under guard to New Orleans.[46] On May 6, 1782, Grand Pré rendered an account of the proceeds from public sale of the property of twenty-one rebel leaders, some of them in prison at New Orleans, most of them fugitives from the district. After the expenses of judge, sheriffs, interpreters, etc., were paid, a balance of 3,121 pesos, 4 reales, 17 sueldos remained.[47]

On the other hand several of the insurgents found real havens of refuge among the Indians. For example, John Holston wrote to his parents:

> . . . . we got all safely to the Chickasaws & are living all together with Thomas Holmes & wife. my greatest uneasiness at present is on account of the great Distance thats Between us, but I still flatter myself that we shall see the day before long that we shall have an opportunity of getting together again. I'd advise you to stay there & Content yourselves as well as you can for I expect an alteration Shortly.[48]

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[41] Article 3, "Articulos de Capitulacion . . . de la Mobila," March 13, 1780, A. G. I., Cuba, 2351.

[42] Examination of Joseph Holmes, September 5, 1781, A. G. I., Cuba, 1376.

[43] Piernas to Gálvez, September 26, 1781, *ibid.*

[44] Grand Pré to Piernas, November 1, 1781, nos. 192 and 193, A. G. I., 114.

[45] *Ibid.*

[46] Grand Pré to Piernas, November 20, 1781, No. 198, *ibid.*

[47] "Resultar des ventes publique des Biens des rebeldes fugitives et autres dans les prisons de la Nelle. Orleans," May 6, 1782, A. G. I., Cuba, 193.

[48] John Holston to Stephen Holston & Judah, his wife, May 15, 1782, A. G. I., Cuba, 194; See Houck, (ed.) *The Spanish Régime in Missouri*, I, 220-221.

The leaders of the Natchez insurrection did not lack for intercessors. The governor of Jamaica sent Gálvez a letter typical of the more polite pleas.

> Permit me to trouble Your Excellency in regard to two Captains, two Lieutenants, one Store Keeper, one Serjeant, and several privates taken at Natchez Fort . . . .
>
> I am informed that the harsh treatment which Captain Blommart, the head of the party, had met with; so unusual under your Excellency's command, has arisen from the neutrality which he had infringed; a circumstance I have reason to believe, originated from intemperate zeal and indiscretion in him, & his perfect ignorance of the customary Laws of Nations.
>
> From such persuasions I am led to solicit Your Excellency's forgiveness to those unfortunate men.[49]

The respectful requests of Hutchins, and John and James Campbell have already been noticed.

Other champions of the Natchez leaders utilized threats. Ferqr. Bethune, British deputy superintendant of Indian affairs for the Mississippi district, wrote from the Chickasaw nation demanding clemency and threatening retaliation.

> In short Sir the Fate of your Power depends on the treatment of the Natchez Inhabitants; Senity & Compassion shown them will stop a Torrent ready to pour out and deluge the Banks of the Mississippi with blood.[50]

Later Alston and Turner were reported organizing a party of Chickasaw, Choctaw, and Yazoo Indians to make reprisals on the Spaniards at Natchez.[51]

These threats were only words, however, and it was not until April of the next year that the real champion of the Natchez insurrectionists arose in the person of James Colbert. Described by Adair as "Capt. J. C-l-b-rt, who has lived among the Chikkasah from his childhood, and speaks their language even with more propriety than the English,"[52] Colbert was now a man of about sixty, but still of good health and strong constitution. He had lived among the Indians for forty years and had a rich lodging

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[49] Archibald Campbell to Gálvez, November 29, 1781, Bancroft Library, Louisiana Collection (B. L., La. Coll.).

[50] Ferqr. Bethune to the Commandant at Natchez, July 19, 1781, A. G. I., Cuba, 114.

[51] Grand Pré to Piernas, November 1, 1781, no. 192, A. G. I., Cuba, 114.

[52] James Adair, *The History of the American Indians*, 370.

among the Chickasaws, one hundred and fifty negro slaves, and several sons by Chickasaw women.[53]
During the siege of Pensacola he had rendered assiduous assistance to the English along with some of his sons and a band of Chickasaw braves.[54]

A combination of influences roused Colbert to try to force the release of Blommart and the other Natchez prisoners by reprisals upon Spaniards passing through the Chickasaw country. The British agent, Bethune, who had threatened retaliation soon after Morandiere recovered Fort Panmure, was conviently located to exert persuasion.[55] The Spaniards were never convinced that Colbert was properly accredited to wage war, but he referred to himself as "sent by his superiors," and insisted that he was duly commissioned.[56] Besides this official encouragement there was the pressure of the numerous English refugees in the Chickasaw country, fugitives from Natchez as well as from Georgia, the Carolinas, and farther north. Many of these men were personal friends of Colbert. One of them set him an example.

On April 25 fourteen Natchez fugitives led by John Turner seized Pourré's boat on its way to Illinois. Pourré and his crew were disarmed, their weapons were placed in a canoe in the custody of four men, and Turner and nine men took charge of the captured boat and the prisoners. Four hours later Pourré and his men rose against their captors, pitched them into the river, and with only the oars as weapons killed six Englishmen and two negroes. Turner and one negro, likewise thrown into the water, had the good fortune to reach the canoe. Pourré turned back to Natchez, but went north again shortly in company with two other launches, while Grand Pré sent out two bands of Indians to capture or kill these pirates, "since humanity and clemency do not engender in them the slightest motion."[57]

Colbert followed Turner's example on May 2 and with better success. He captured a boat commanded by Silbestre L'Abbadie, on board of which was a valuable cargo, including 4,500 pesos that were being sent north to meet government expenses in Span-

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[53] Declaracion de Silvestre L'Abbadie á Franco. Cruzat, July 5, 1782, B. L., La. Coll.

[54] Farmer, Journal of the Siege, *loc. cit.*

[55] [Declaration of Madame Cruzat], May 30, 1782, certified copy, A. G. I., Sto. Dom., 2656; copy, translated in Houck, *op. cit.*, I, 221-231.

[56] Colbert to Miró, October 6, 1782, B. L., La. Coll.; Colbert to [DuBreuil], April 17, 1783, copies, A. G. I., Cuba, 2360 and 107.

[57] Miró to Cagigal, May 4, 1782, no. 16, A. G. I., Cuba, 1304; Miró to Gálvez, copy, translated in Houck, *op. cit.*, I, 213.

ish Illinois. Also on board was a more important prize—Madame Cruzat, the wife of the Spanish commander at St. Louis and her four sons.[58]

The full story of this capture and the experiences of the prisoners is too long to present here. Both L'Abbadie and Madame Cruzat place much of the blame for their capture on Joseph Meson (Mason), who assured them, as they approached Chickasaw Bluffs, that everything was tranquil on the river. Consequently they were not alarmed to see a boat moored to the west bank opposite the mouth of the Margot River. Hailed from this boat by Thomas Prince, who claimed to have letters for Madame Cruzat, they crossed over, threw a line ashore, and allowed their boat to be tied up.

As L'Abbadie was about to step ashore to receive the letters, forty Englishmen jumped out of the woods, leveled muskets and carbines at the Spanish boat, and their leader shouted in clear and intelligible French, "Surrender yourselves, you are our prisoners, and if you move or shake your heads, we will fire on all of you and kill you." L'Abbadie attempted to parley but received very short answers. They were English; their arms constituted their flag and powder and ball would serve as their orders. Surrender was inevitable.[59]

Colbert immediately assured Madame Cruzat that she and her sons would be well treated. Then they all crossed the river and went up the Margot about a quarter of a league where the captured boatmen were placed in a log jail. The next day, because of an alarm that an American boat was approaching, Colbert hurriedly moved his prisoners about four leagues up the Margot. Here a new jail was built.

Here also the captors had the pleasure of dividing up the booty. They began with about six thousand pesos, the king's and the captives'. Then the tableware and slaves were auctioned off, the guns, clothes, etc. distributed. The real celebration, though, was reserved for a few days later when some two hundred Chickasaws had arrived and the distribution of powder and brandy took place. The Indians accepted some of the booty and took charge of some prisoners, but though Colbert's son William was their head

[58] There are two chief sources for information about this capture and the subsequent developments: Declaracion de Silbestre L'Abbadie à Franco. Cruzat, July 5, 1782, B. L., La. Coll.; and [Declaration of Madame Cruzat], May 30, 1782, certified copy, A. G. I., Sto. Dom., 2656, copy, translated in Houck, *op. cit.*, I, 221-231.

[59] Declaracion de Silbestre L'Abbadie, *loc. cit.*

war-chief, yet it seemed that the Indians were tolerating these actions against the Spaniards rather than participating in them. Madame Cruzat was especially appreciative of the protection William Colbert afforded her.[60]

Several other less valuable boats were captured, the most important of which was Lafont's with a cargo of maize and meal from St. Louis, nine of its crew becoming prisoners, while the tenth joined Colbert's forces.

Both Madame Cruzat and L'Abbadie stress the insubordination that was rife among their captors. The white men in this district, numbering more than three hundred, were refugees from Georgia, the Carolinas, and the Cumberland region as well as from Natchez. They were restless spirits, many of them deserving the characterization of vagabonds and ruffians. They acknowledged Colbert's leadership only to a limited extent, and accorded him even this partial obedience chiefly because of the influence he enjoyed over the Chickasaws in whose lands they were being tolerated. Colbert was somewhat responsible for the air of uncertainty that prevailed among his followers, for he was undecided himself about just how to accomplish the exchange of these prisoners for Blommart and the rest.

Although hazy as to the methods he should follow, Colbert was not at all reticent about his plans. He talked very freely to his prisoners, boasting of his intelligence service which informed him in advance of all movements of boats along the Mississippi, and showing L'Abbadie a letter in English from some informant in New Orleans. He said also that if he had not taken L'Abbadie's boat, he would have seized the Arkansas fort. Admitting that the fort at Natchez would be difficult to take, he told of plans to blockade it. He counted on support from the inhabitants who were not content under Spanish rule, and threatened fire and sword for any settlers who would not support him. Even if Fort Panmure did not fall, Colbert said that his party would retire "content with having done all the damage possible."[61]

Colbert also mentioned a "Mr. Aricson (who is a colonel escaped from Naeché)," whose name Madame Cruzat rendered as Anthony Hutchins. He had gone to Georgia to get two regiments, so Colbert affirmed, and his return, anticipated momentarily,

[60] *Ibid.*; [Declaration of Madame Cruzat], *loc. cit.*

[61] Declaracion de Silbestre L'Abbadie, *loc. cit.*

would be the signal for attacks on the Arkansas post, Ste. Genevieve in Illinois, Natchez, and even the capital itself.

L'Abbadie spoke of Colbert as a Hispanophobe.

> This man is one of the greatest enemies of our nation. He has such irritation against it that notwithstanding the continued supplications of myself and Madame Cruzat he would not liberate Joseph Crespo, a soldier of this detachment, saying in a tone insolent, ironical, and contemptuous, that this one was a native Spaniard, and that therefore he wished to retain him, for he had a high regard for those of this nation, and that he wished that all the other prisoners were of the same nationality.[62]

To Madame Cruzat, too, he expressed great regret that he had captured her instead of her husband, for whom he had a special aversion.[63]

Colbert might have revealed more details of his plans except that Alexander McGillivray interrupted and advised him to hold his tongue. "You are speaking very openly," he said, "and are making our projects known to a man, who, if he is given his liberty today or tomorrow, will not forget to make public our intentions, which in no wise would be favorable to us for their execution.[64]

In the course of the next decade Alexander McGillivray became the foremost chief of the Creeks and the dominant authority among the Southeastern Indians.[65] During the Natchez rebellion his position was not so exalted, but he demonstrated more sagacity and incisiveness of mind than Colbert or any of the other rebel leaders. With his arrival on May 15 a better defined program of action was launched. He had come from Savannah by way of the Chickasaw towns, and according to L'Abbadie brought orders "which seemed to emanate from Monr. Tranble who is in the said Chickasaw nation."

On the day of his arrival he drew up a "Parole of Honour," whereby L'Abbadie and nine other prisoners were permitted to go to New Orleans.

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[62] *Ibid.*

[63] *Ibid.*

[64] *Ibid.*

[65] See my "Alexander McGillivray and the Creek Crisis, 1783-1784," *New Spain and the Anglo-American West*; Whitaker, "Alexander McGillivray, 1783-1793," *North Carolina Historical Review*, V (1928), 181-203, 289-309.

We the Subscribers, prisoners of War to his Britannick Majesty, taken by Capt. James Colburt,[66] do hereby engage upon our Word & Honor (comprehending therein, all that is good & sacred in men) that we will Remain, and consider ourselves as prisoners of War, to return to any of the British Dominions if called upon, unless Exchanged for the men under mentioned, it is hereby understood that we not only Bind ourselves, but the Spanish Nation, whose Subjects we are

John Blommart
John Alston
Joseph Holmes
Jacob Winfree
John Turner[67]
John Green
Wm. Eason
Parker Caridine
John Smith[68]

The signatories repurchased L'Abbadie's boat for four hundred pesos, Madame Cruzat giving her note for the sum, which was to be paid "to Mr. Blommart when he comes off for the Chickasaws," and L'Abbadie bought back one of his slaves for 250 pesos. On May 22 they started south; L'Abbadie and nine[69] other prisoners, accompanied by Madame Cruzat, her four sons, and a negress of hers. L'Abbadie bore a letter to the governor of Louisiana, explaining the exchange that was proposed, stressing the humanity and consideration that Colbert had shown his prisoners, and protesting "a matter that is prevalent in West Florida, particularly at Mobill, that is offering Great rewards to Indians for the Heads of particular Men in the Indian Country."[70]

On their way downstream they met three boats commanded by Louis Villars, Francisco Vallé, and Eugenio Pourré. Madame Cruzat broke her promise to Colbert and warned these men of the danger at Chickasaw Bluffs. In view of his April experience Pourré must have felt special appreciation for this warning. They all went down to Arkansas, from where L'Abbadie sent Madame Cruzat and his boat on to New Orleans, while he journeyed with the others to St. Louis. Madame Cruzat arrived on May 30 and immediately furnished the authorities a long account of what had transpired.[71] L'Abbadie reached St. Louis on June 29 and made a

[66] McGillivray spelled and signed Colbert's name thus.

[67] Turner, though not a Spanish prisoner, was "under indictment" and his arrest sought.

[68] A Parole of Honour, May 15, 1782, copy not signed by L'Abbadie *et al.*, A. G. I., Cuba, 2359; see Houck, *op. cit.*, I, 220.

[69] Eleven, according to the Declaracion de Silbestre L'Abbadie, *loc. cit.*

[70] Colbert (though penned and signed by McGillivray) to [the governor of Louisiana], May 15, 1782, A. G. I., Cuba, 2359; Spanish translation, retranslated in Houck, *op. cit.*, I, 219.

[71] Printed in Houck, *op. cit.*, I, 221-231.

similar declaration to Francisco Cruzat.[72] From New Orleans and St. Louis measures were instituted to suppress this outgrowth of the Natchez rebellion.

After careful consideration Miró concluded that an expedition against Colbert would be impracticable. In the first place, their territory was so remote and so extensive that it would be very difficult to run down these latest insurgents. Establishment of a fort at Chickasaw Bluffs would not solve the problem, because they could attack anywhere along more than three hundred leagues of the river. In the second place, a Spanish attack would probably force them to take refuge with the Chickasaws, and to preserve Spain's reputation the Chickasaws as well as Colbert's men would have to be attacked. Miró reminded Gálvez of the "small gain and great loss" that resulted from two French attacks on the Chickasaws.[73] He proposed instead to go to Natchez with two hundred men to perfect its defenses.[74]

Miró went on to point out that the extensive additions to Spanish territory on the left bank of the Mississippi, the results of Gálvez' conquests, made advisable a relocation of the frontier posts. He urged two new forts between Natchez and Illinois, one to be at Barrancas á Margot (Chickasaw Bluffs). Arkansas might as well be abandoned, especially since the post had been moved ten or twelve leagues from the Mississippi to avoid the floods at the old location. The new post did not protect river traffic. The new international boundaries had made Baton Rouge and Manchac obselete. Designed by the English to guard against Spanish Manchac, they were not as effective as Gálveztown for the protection of New Orleans.[75]

With one hundred men Miró set out on June 17 and reached Natchez on July 1. After his engineer had surveyed the defenses and reported them in very bad condition, Miró declared that a garrison of three hundred was indispensible if the district and river traffic were to be protected at all.[76] He remained at Natchez until late in October, though Piernas had come up to substitute

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[72] Declaracion de Silbestre L'Abbadie, July 5, 1782, B. L., La. Coll.

[73] In 1736 and 1740.

[74] Miró to Gálvez, June 5, 1782, copy, translated in Houck, *op. cit.*, I, 214-218; Martin Navarro to José de Gálvez, June 4, 1782, no. 120, A. G. I., Sto. Dom., 2656; Miró to Cagigal, June 5 and 15, 1782, nos. 23 and 27, A. G. I., Cuba, 1304.

[75] Miró to Gálvez, June 5, 1782, *loc. cit.*

[76] Piernas to Gálvez, June 22, 1782, no. 36, A. G. I., Cuba, 1377; Miró to Cagigal, July 6, 1782, no. 29, A. G. I., Cuba, 1304.

for him during an illness. When he left, he reported that the reenforced garrison had reassured the people of the district.[77]

Miró felt that the Natchez district had been governed with unnecessary harshness. He had already released Parker Caridine and John Smith, whom Grand Pré had sent to prison in New Orleans upon suspicion of communicating with the fugitive rebels. Three men at New Orleans certified that Caridine was blameless, that he had refused a commission and had helped Samuel Bell to escape to New Orleans.[78] From Madame Cruzat, Miró had learned of English protest against the fines Grand Pré had imposed to compensate for the seizure of a boat while Blommart held the fort. They claimed he had confiscated more than twenty times the value of this boat.[79]

Miró proposed to release Mrs. Judah Holston, for whose return Colbert had offered five men. Mrs. Holston was old, she was charged merely with sheltering some of the fugitives, and some return was in order for the kindnesses shown Madame Cruzat.[80] Gálvez approved this clemency but cautioned Miró to retain most of the relatives and friends of the rebels in order that retaliation would be possible if any prisoners in the Chickasaw country were mistreated.[81]

A more perplexing problem for the acting governor was in what fashion to negotiate with Colbert. Should he accept him as a regularly commissioned British officer waging regular warfare, or treat him as a rebel chieftain outside the pale of international relations? Though he realized that in order to avoid a possible diplomatic dispute after the war it might be best to give Colbert the benefit of the doubt, yet he resolved to refuse to deal with him, on the ground that by placing himself at the head of a band of rebels he had become an accomplice in their crimes and had forfeited whatever international standing he might once have possessed.[82] Accordingly, Blommart and the other Natchez prisoners were not released, and the men who had signed Colbert's parole of honor were advised to consider it null and void because Colbert was merely a rebel.

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[77] Bouligny to Cagigal, October 7, 1782, no. 40, *ibid.*; Miró to Cagigal, November 2, 1782, no. 44, *ibid.*

[78] Miró to Gálvez, June 5, 1782, *loc. cit.*; Certificate by Jacinto Gaillard, Samuel Bell, and Geo. Rapalje, 1782, A. G. I., Cuba, 9.

[79] [Declaration of Madame Cruzat], May 30, 1782, *loc. cit.*; Grand Pré [List of 290 Natchez inhabitants, many fugitives from the district, fined 34 pesos each], May 6, 1782, A. G. I., Cuba, 193.

[80] Miró to Gálvez, June 5, 1782, *loc. cit.*

[81] Gálvez to Miro, July 21, 1782, in Houck, *op. cit.*, I, 232-234.

[82] Miró to Gálvez, June 5, 1782, *loc. cit.*

While at Natchez, Miró entered into no negotiations with Colbert for the exchange of prisoners, but he did write one letter of explanation. Colbert's captures were not war prizes, he insisted, because Colbert was not commissioned by his king to wage war. Furthermore, all West Florida had been surrendered to Gálvez. Blommart and the other men from Natchez were political not military prisoners, as Colbert seemed to think, and consequently could not be exchanged. Any negotiations concerning them must be through the governor of Jamaica.[83]

> I received yours of the 29th July this day (Colbert replied) Wherein you mention as follows Concerning the late Inhabitants of the Notches Which you Term as Reb-[les] & Signifys in your As I harboured them Rebles. Now Sir you Ought to be the Last Person that Should Even mention Anything Of that Nature to me When you Upheld Mr. Willing in Robing & plundering the Inhabtents On the Mississippy before war was Ever declared between the Crown of great Brittain & his Catholick majisty notwithstanding I never mein to Uphold Or harbour Rebles Of Any kind. for those People that Left the notches I do not Look Upon them as Rebles Neither do I emagine they were ever your Subjects therefore I can but Look on them as Other Inglish Subjects. you Signify in your Letter as though I had no right to go to war Without an authaurity. I would have you to know that I have as much Authority to distress my kings Enymys as you have to mantain Notches Or Any Other place in behalf of your King therefore The Prisoners I now have & any Others I may take you may depend I shall Look On As prisoners of war & Keep Them As Such till proper Exchanges are made for them I am well Satisfyed with your Humanity in Regard Of not Setting the Indians On White People. I have prevaild With my Indians to make Peace both With you & the Americans & with all the world as it is proper that no Indians Ought to interfare with what Concerns none but white (Men.) As for the White People that Left Notches I much blame them for Not Remaining in Peace till war was desided between great Brittain & Spain. Do Not think that Capn. Blommart had no Authority for what he did for he as well as many others had from Genl. Campbell— Therefore I desire you will Return the Prisoners I wrote for & at the same time I shall Return those I have here. If not I shall detain them As Such further orders—I shall Send Monsr, Laffunt to his Parents as he is A youth I wish Well & having No Oppirtunity Of Education here I would Not wish to keep

[83] Miró to Colbert, July 29, 1782, draft, A. G. I., Cuba, 182.

him. I hope you will make Some Retalliation to the Indian that takes him in— If you Should have Any Occation to write Any More to me, Please to write in Inglish Or Send an Interpreter with it having None here

I am Sir Yours &c

JAMES COLBURT

Captn. in his Majestys Serv.[84]

Meanwhile Madame Cruzat's husband had been busy at St. Louis undermining the position of the English in the Chickasaw country. Hearing that an attack on L'Abbadie's boat had been plotted, he sent Diego Blanco and twenty-five men to protect it. This force was despatched on June 2, unfortunately a full month after Colbert captured the boat. On June 5 a party of Loups reached Ste. Genevieve from the Chickasaw nation with sure news that L'Abbadie's and Lafont's boats had been seized. Cruzat, therefore, sent Jacobo DuBreuil to Ste. Genevieve to take suitable measures. DuBreuil despatched Carlos Salle and eight men, who joined Blanco and his force and descended to the Margot, where they found Colbert's camp deserted. They burned the log prison and returned to Ysla del Buey (Ox Island) near the mouth of the Ohio.[85]

DuBreuil also sent some Loups, Peorias, and Kaskaskias into the Chickasaw country to recover the Spanish prisoners and to remove the menace to use of the river. These Indians returned with three soldiers of the Arkansas garrison who had been captured on the River of San Francisco on January 11, a civilian captured on the same boat, another from Lafont's boat, and a soldier taken by Colbert at Mobile on June 5, 1780. These Indians reported that six Chickasaw chiefs and a number of warriors had promised in the name of Panimatajá not to try to help the rebels and pirates, but to try to expel the bandits from their territory. Cruzat promised them reciprocal generosity.[86]

Cruzat had also gathered a party of Kickapoos and Mascoutens, told them that the Chickasaws and rebels had seized the boat with their presents, and incited them to avenge a theft which was really against themselves. Although this party had not returned, Cruzat attributed to it the willingness of the Chickasaws to surrender these six captives, the only ones they had. The Chickasaw chiefs asked Cruzat to dissuade the northern

[84] Colbert to Miró, October 6, 1782, B. L., La. Coll., a copy in A. G. I., Cuba, 114.

[85] Cruzat to Miró, August 8, 1782, B. L., La. Coll.

[86] *Ibid.*

Indians from attacking them, and he promised to do so if the Chickasaws would agree to his conditions, which they very gladly did.[87] Here was a method, less expensive than a frontal attack, for reducing the menace of Colbert and his English "pirates."

So far as the Natchez prisoners were concerned, the Chickasaw uprising brought them harsher treatment instead of release. Blommart and his fellows had been treated quite leniently. From one of the most prosiac of documents—a board bill—it appears that they were allowed to live in more comfortable quarters than the calabozo. Edm. Connelly presented a bill amounting to 829 pesos 2 reales for Blommart's board and wine from June 27, 1781, to April 8, 1782, and for Eason, Williams, and Benjamin's board to August 5, 1781.[88]

A more romantic document reveals the discomfort that Colbert's seizures produced for Blommart. It is the plea of his daughter on the eve of the proposed removal of the Natchez prisoners to the islands.

> . . . in the hour of taking leave perhaps forever, of my fond, tender and affectionate Father, The unfortunate Mr. Blomart—I dare not (however much I wish it) petition for Pardon, but let me at least intercede with Your Excellency for Your Compassion in so far as to Order his Irons to be taken off. This will be an act of great pity, and give much Relief and Ease to him, and my consolation will be extreme.[89]

Unfortunately, Miró's response has not been discovered. The Spanish plans, however, changed very shortly. Removal of the prisoners from New Orleans, which had been thought advisable for their safe-keeping, was adjudged unnecessary after all, and they were held at the capital until the last of April, 1783.

When Spain, England, and France drew up preliminary articles for a treaty to conclude the war in January, 1783, the imprisonment of the Natchez leaders acquired a different complexion. The court had already approved Gálvez' leniency to these men in refraining from executing upon them the severe penalties which justice would countenance for their treason.[90] In April the arrival at Jamaica of Prince William, Duke of Lancaster, afforded Gálvez the occasion for a more striking dis-

[87] *Ibid.*

[88] Edm. Connelly, [Bill], April 6, 1782, A. G. I., Cuba, 193.

[89] Ann Blommart to Miró, November 19, 1782, A. G. I., Cuba, 191.

[90] José de Gálvez to Gálvez, November 20, 1782, No. 186, A. G. I., Cuba, 175.

play of generosity. The letters they exchanged are self-explanatory.

> The Spanish troops stationed at this camp (Gálvez wrote) have not had the good fortune which the French had of taking arms to show your highness the honor which they would accord you, or to give any proof of the high respect and consideration that is due you, a sentiment they hold eternally. But, Sir, I have in prison at New Orleans the chief of the Natchez rebellion with some of his accomplices, who, having broken their word and their oath of fealty, are condemned to death by a council of war on the basis of just and equitable laws; the execution of the sentence waits only the approval that I am empowered to give as governor of that colony.[91] These culprits are all English. Would your highness like to accept the thanks and the lives of these men, in the name of the army and of my sovereign? I believe, Sir, that this present is the most appropriate that could be offered to one prince in the name of another; I know that my extremely generous prince will approve it. If your highness would deign to be concerned for them, I have the honor to enclose an order for them to be handed over at once to whatever vessel your highness may send to Louisiana to make known your will. Great satisfaction will be ours, if by this means we shall have succeeded in doing something that pleases your highness.
>
> I have the honor, etc.,
> BDO. DE GÁLVEZ (rubric)[92]

Prince William accepted the present with enthusiastic appreciation.

> I want words to convey to your Excellency the just Sense I entertain of the delicate manner in which you was pleased to transmit me your very polite letter, and of your generous conduct towards those unhappy objects, Whose punishment you have thought proper to remit on my account: A present of all others, the most acceptable to me, and truly characteristic of such a Brave and Gallant Nation as the Spanish, and which I consider as an additional proof of that generosity of Sentiment which your Excellency has in so many instances displayed in the course of the late war.
>
> Admiral Rowley will dispatch a Vessel to Louisiana to fetch these prisoners, who I trust will ever remember with gratitude your clemency. I have sent to the King my

[91] This may have been true, but I have found no record that the case was prosecuted this far.

[92] Gálvez to "Seremissimo Principe Guillermo, Duque de Lancaster," April 6, 1783, certified copy, A. G. I., Ind. Gen., 1578.

Father a Copy of your letter, who I am sure, will feel your Excellency's attention to me.

I desire my compliments to Madame de Galvez together with the assurance that your Excellency's attention will ever be remembered by

WILLIAM HENRY[93]

Gálvez had already despatched an order to New Orleans that the Natchez prisoners should be released "on the single condition that under no excuse shall they return to the territory of that colony."[94] On April 28 the six prisoners signed a parole not to leave New Orleans until authorized by the governor, and Miró granted them full liberty of the town.[95] Shortly thereafter an English ship arrived to carry them to Jamaica, and the incident was closed except for the Spanish court's approval of their release and the manner of their release.[96]

In the Chickasaw country, though, to which news came tardily of the peace negotiations and of Blommart's release, Colbert made one last outburst. At the head of one hundred whites and forty Indians he advanced on Fort Carlos III of Arkansas, captured Lieutenant Luis Villars, ten soldiers, and four of the principal inhabitants of the Arkansas village. The other six escaped to the fort. Colbert summoned the fort to surrender, but DuBreuil resisted. He had only four Arkansas Indians and forty soldiers, but the fort was strongly built and of hard wood. Colbert kept the fort besieged from April 17 to 24. Then, receiving warning that Spaniards and Indians were coming to the rescue, he withdrew, releasing all his prisoners except four soldiers, the son of one villager, and three slaves.[97]

Undismayed by the faithlessness of L'Abbadie and the others he had released on parole eleven months earlier, Colbert allowed Villars to go to New Orleans on his word of honor. Villars obligated himself as a prisoner of war to have released in exchange for his own freedom "Blommart, Jacob Winfret, Jean Olsen

[93] [Prince] William Henry to Gálvez, April 13, 1783, *ibid.*

[94] Gálvez to the acting governor of Louisiana, April 5, 1783, no. 88, copies, A. G. I., Cuba, 1377, and Ind. Gen., 1578.

[95] Parole signed by J. Blommart, Jacob Winfree, Will Eason, John Alston, W. L. Williams, Saml. Benjamin, April 28, 1783, A. G. I., Cuba, 196.

[96] José de Gálvez to Gálvez, June 24, 1783, A. G. I., Cuba, 175.

[97] DuBreuil to Miró, May 5, 1783, copy, A. G. I., Cuba, 2360; Colbert to DuBreuil, April 17, 1783, copies, *ibid.*, and A. G. I., Cuba, 107. The declaration of one of Colbert's prisoners released just before this episode reveals the more important men of Colbert's following; Simon Burney, Ziblan Mathews, James Clonketin, Juan Hosten, Ricardo Hall, Betnigo Swallen, Patricio Rogers, Joel Starn, James Mchim, William Windrigth, and Patrico Maar. Declaracion de Henoc Wales, April 9, 1783, A. G. I., Cuba, 196.

(Alston), William Eton (Eason), and William Williams." If these men were not at New Orleans, he promised to find out where they were and inform Colbert. If he failed to secure their release he promised to surrender to Colbert by August 1 or to pay a ransom of two thousand piastres.[98]

Of course, when Villars reached New Orleans, The Natchez prisoners had been released in the gesture to Prince William, and thus he was saved the predicament of surrendering again to Colbert, ransoming himself with two thousand piastres, or breaking his parole as the others had done. Miró wrote to Colbert berating him for his latest violence and charging that it was undertaken after peace had been agreed upon and that it was not legitimate by the laws of war. He called upon Colbert to surrender all remaining prisoners immediately.[99]

Colbert replied on August 3, employing an amenuensis whose French was barbarous. Reminding Miró that three months and twelve days had elapsed before news of the peace reached him, he insisted that he had released his prisoners as soon as he learned of the truce. He had called on the Chickasaws to liberate any they held; their reply was that they had sent several the preceding summer by the Kaduké (Cadoucas) and Loups on condition that Cruzat would deliver to them some of their people held prisoner by the Kickapoos. Loving their own people as much as Miró loved his fellow Spaniards, they were surprised and dejected that Cruzat did not live up to his agreement. Colbert expressed gratification over Blommart's release and departure for Jamaica, and he announced that since he was about to start for St. Augustine to render account to his superior, further negotiations would be postponed until his return.[100]

This letter, however, marks the end. Colbert went to St. Augustine, and "concerning demands that was made on him by the Governor of New Orleans for damages he did on the Mississippi he got full powers to Clear up that Complaint." But three days after he left McGillivray's house on the return journey, "his horse threw him down and Killd him before his servant could assist him."[101]

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[98] Villars, [Parole], April 24, 1783, copy, A. G. I., Cuba, 2360.

[99] Miró's letter is referred to in Colbert to Miró, August 3, 1783, A. G. I., Cuba, 196, and in DuBreuil to Colbert, July 25, 1783, A. G. I., Cuba, 107.

[100] Colbert to Miró, August 3, 1783, A. G. I., Cuba, 196.

[101] McGillivray to O'Neill, January 7, 1784, A. G. I., Cuba, 197.

The verdict of history probably will be that Blommart and Colbert and their followers engaged in quixotic schemes. Though we hold that a miss is as bad as a mile, in fairness we must note that Blommart's venture might have had a very different outcome except for the explosion of the powder magazine at Pensacola on May 8, and that if Colbert had held his prisoners instead of trusting them with paroles he probably would have compelled the release of Blommart. Certainly the Louisiana authorities did not dismiss their menace lightly. Gálvez and Miró regarded the successive rebellions as serious problems. Gálvez paid Blommart the compliment of making a special trip to New Orleans which delayed his arrival at Havana at least two months. He underwent this delay in spite of the fact that the call to the islands was for a very important commission, namely, the organization of an attack upon Jamaica and the Bahamas.[102] Miró responded personally the next summer when Colbert's uprising threatened Natchez, and he spent four months there getting this insurrection under control. Such official cognizance proves that the Natchez-Chickasaw rebellions deserve notice as a major menace to Spanish control on the left bank of the Mississippi.

In comparison to O'Reilly's punishment of the insurrectionists a dozen years earlier when six lives were exacted for a bloodless revolt against Spain's vaguely asserted authority, Gálvez displayed great leniency. The Natchez rebellion was against fully constituted authority, for Spain had controlled the district a year and a half, had garrisoned the fort, and exacted an oath of fidelity from the inhabitants. The Natchez rebellion furthermore, was no mere flourish; the Spanish flag was fired upon, a Spanish fort captured, and Spanish blood shed. Yet Gálvez took pains to reassure the populace, moderated the punishment of the leaders, and within two years released even them.

[102] Gálvez to José de Gálvez, August 17, 1781, no. 1, A. G. I., Ind. Gen., 1578.

HISTORY OF THE AMERICAN PARTY IN LOUISIANA

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Second Installment

(Continued from October, 1932, Quarterly)

Chapter II

The Last Days of the Whigs

In the state campaign of 1851 the Whigs remained apathetic except for some stir in the Orleans District.[1] As they had fully expressed themselves on the state of the Union during the preceding year,[2] that question was not revived. The Democrats were divided in their opinion and ignored it. The Whigs tried to steal the Democratic thunder by advocating a convention to modify the constitution of 1845. The Democrats countered with a mass meeting in New Orleans on October 11, 1851, which adopted resolutions favoring a shorter period of residence for naturalization, and free and equal suffrage with no property qualifications.[3] In the election, the Whigs won a majority in the Legislature which faced the question of calling a new constitutional convention.

It is interesting to note that in this convention the Whigs shifted temporarily to a defense of naturalized citizens.[4] Judah P. Benjamin reversed the stand he had taken in the convention of 1845 by voting for "annual sessions of the legislature, for increased liberality in the acquisition of citizenship." and for abolition of all qualifications for membership in the legislature except free white male citizenship and a minimum age of twenty-five years.[5] He also favored reduction of the age limit of governor from thirty-five to twenty-eight years, and the residence requirement from fifteen to four years.

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[1] *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, Nov. 7, 1851.

[2] *Ibid.*, Nov. 12, 13, 25-30, Dec. 10, ff. 1850.

[3] *Daily Delta*, Oct. 12, 1851.

[4] The second section of the Whig state platform of 1852 ran: "The extension of suffrage, so as to abolish all distinctions between native and naturalized citizens, and admitting to the right of voting as well as of holding office to all citizens of the United States and of this state who have resided in the state twelve months."—*Daily Delta*, March 20, 1852.

[5] Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 105.

In the convention the Whigs led in reducing the length of residence requirements for the voters from two years in the state and one year in the parish to one year and a half in the state and six months in the parish.[6] The only "joker" the Whigs put into the Contsitution under which they hoped to "hold power for thirty years" was the appointment clauses which counted negroes as population.[7] However, in the next election, the presidential campaign of 1852, the Whigs lost the state to the Democrats by a majority of 1392.[8] In December of the same year they lost the gubernatorial contest by some two or three thousand votes, in a very listless campaign. The Whigs claimed this was not a true test of their strength, as party lines were not sharply defined.[9] These two elections, however, were to be the last great efforts of the Whigs in Louisiana.

In 1852 and more especially in 1853 there was another outburst of native sentiment with the Whigs re-aligned on the 'native' side and the Democrats advocating the cause of the immigrants. Dr. P. Scott, a Democrat and minister of the largest Presbyterian church in New Orleans, announced from his pulpit that America was the asylum for the poor downtrodden peoples of Europe, that the citizens of New Orleans should welcome immigrants and help them enter into a full social and equal political life immediately.[10] The *Alexandria Democrat* commended the course of the Irish in Louisiana for not trying to embroil the United States in Irish affairs.[11]

In April, 1853, the *Crescent* accepted the guantlet of battle, and answered the brief attack of the *Courier* upon Roselius, a prominent Whig. It denied that he was antagonistic toward all naturalized citizens and asked, "Are we to have 'warm friends

[6] *Harpers New Monthly Magazine*, vol. V, p. 695 (October, 1852).

[7] Seven parishes, West Baton Rouge, St. Charles, West Feliciana, Pointe Coupee, Concordia, Tensas, and Madison had a negro population of 48,637, a white population of 11,264, making a total of 59,901. Thirteen parishes, Livingston, St. Helena, Washington, Sabine, Jackson, Bienville, Franklin, Caldwell, Union, Catahoula, Calcasieu, St. Bernard, and Vermillion had a white population of 35,681, with a negro population of 18,819, making a total of 54,500. Both had equal representation.—Butler, *op. cit.*, p. 108, quoting the *True Delta*, Aug. 8, 1852.

[8] In a speech in Congress in 1854 Banks, a representative from Massachusetts attempted to prove that as there were 67,308 foreigners in Louisiana in 1852, casting a vote of 9,615, and since Pierce's majority in Louisiana was only 1392 votes, they (the foreigners) cast six electoral votes for Pierce. He quoted similar statistics for fourteen other states and reasoned that 258,548 foreign votes cast 152 electoral votes. *Appendix to the Cong. Globe*, 33 Cong., 2 sess., p. 52.

[9] Cole, *op. cit.*, p. 276.

[10] *New Orleans Daily Delta*, Feb. 1, 1852.

[11] *Ibid.*, March 3, 1852.

of our naturalized citizens?' Is there to be a distinction between native born and naturalized citizens?'[12]

On May 23 the *Crescent* strongly condemned the anti-Catholic handbill[13] circulated the day before, and published a defence of the Whig candidate for District Attorney, E. J. Carrell, who said that "every human being is responsible for his religious opinions to one greater than man, and I presume that a man will be neither better nor worse as a District Attorney because he may chance to be a Catholic, Jew, Episcopalian, Presbyterian or Methodist."[14] The *Crescent* explained that Carrell's defeat was the result of the indifference and apathy of the Whigs and the religious prejudices aroused by the unjust circular.[15] The Democrats insinuated that Carrell circulated it himself.

In July an organization entitled the "Naturalized Citizens Association" was created. The *Crescent*, thinking this a factional organization of the Democrats, at first merely laughed up its sleeve and warned the "Hunker" Democrats to "tremble in their shoes."[16] A few weeks later in noticing the failure of the association to materialize, it said: "The project is hostile to the whole spirit of our institutions and can but lead to the stirring up of national animosities[17] and the revival of the old exploded and long buried Native American Party. Such a proceeding must of necessity excite jealously in the natives of the soil, and cause them to band together in hostile opposition to the foreign party as constituted."[18]

In October the *Crescent* published a series of long denunciations entitled, "Abuses of the Naturalization Laws—How it is Done." The articles charged that the fraudulent naturalization process of Judge Eliott was being repeated; that the Judge of another court came to the Sixth District to naturalize as many

[12] *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, April 11, 1852.

[13] The handbill read, *"Citizens of New Orleans!!* You have an important duty to perform tomorrow in the election of a District Attorney. That duty must be performed faithfully and boldly . . . Father Mullen and the Jesuits can not longer rule this city . . . Mr. Carrell is a *Roman Catholic*, a bigot; All his family are Catholic. He is a man of strong prejudices, all Ireland and Germany would rejoice in his election. He would discharge every person brought before the criminal court provided he is a creole of Ireland or Germany. Shall we be ruled by Irish and Germans? . . . Give a strong pull . . . and Carrell will be defeated. Our power will be shown and in the future we can control our own elections without the aid of foreigners.—An American."—*Ibid.*, May 23, 1853.

[14] *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, May 23, 1853.

[15] *Ibid.*, May 24, 1853.

[16] *Ibid.*, July 8, 1853.

[17] The *Louisiana Staats Zeitung*, a New Orleans German paper, published by George Lugenbuhl, tried to rally the Germans against the Irish to protect "their rights" endangered by this meeting.—*Ibid.*, Oct. 19, 21, 1853.

[18] *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, July 23, 1853.

as presented themselves; that many appearing for final naturalization had not the qualifications for even the declaration of intention, and after five years of supposed residence could not speak one sentence of English; that men were making thier livings by drumming up foreigners to teach them certain dates and facts by rote, and with a few perjuring witnesses, would fraudulently lead them before the judge to be naturalized; that the naturalization papers were not given to the persons seeking naturalization, but to a political (Democratic) clerk to hold until election time to assure the 'rightness' of the voter; and that the police themselves hung around the court offering to act as witnesses of identification for any one who paid them a few cents.[19]

The *Crescent* ignored the threat of the court to fine it for contempt, and warned the public that similar moral conditions had led to the downfall of Rome, when she had admitted, as the United States had done, such large groups "unrefined in manners as they were debased in intellect." For they advocated "any innovation in government that any daring demagogue cared to lead them into by flattering their appetite for excitement or hope for spoils."[20]

Naturally such agitation brought about reaction. The conservatives[21] asked for the establishment of a registry law for New Orleans, a constitutional obligation which the legislature had ignored. The proposed law would have protected the elective franchise, and would have checked the migratory adventurers who would vote whether entitled or not. It would have made possible a true experession of public opinion without subjecting it to the highest bidder for the support of the immoral floating class always at hand at the "gateway" of the Mississippi valley.[22]

A month before the September election of 1853, six hundred citizens petitioned the board of assistant aldermen not to locate the polls in coffee houses—the contemporary name for saloons. After a 'witty' effort to refer the petition to the committee on 'Education' or 'The House of Refuge' it was tabled. The board then proceeded to place 17 out of the 24 polls in coffee houses.[23]

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[19] *Ibid.*, Oct. 18, 19, 21, 1853.

[20] *Ibid.*, Oct. 19, 1853.

[21] The more radical element sent a delegation to New York to ask Father Gavazzi, an apostate priest who was savagely attacking the Catholic church, to come and repeat his lectures in Louisiana.—*Ibid.*, Oct. 27, 1853, quoting the *New York Tribune*.

[22] *Ibid.*, Oct. 31, 1853.

[23] *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, Oct. 31, 1853.

In the fall of 1853 Charles Gayarre ran for Congress in the First District on an independent ticket.[24] The Whig candidate, a certain Mackey, withdrew in favor of Gayarre.[25] Gayarre and the Whig ticket were defeated, according to the universal sentiment of Whig papers over Louisiana, by such an "amout of bribery and corruption practiced in all directions," that it "cast a gloom over the future prospects of the country." They said that a dead foreigner was not dead as long as his naturalization papers could be found, because the Democrats "stood ready by a little lazy swearing to put some one else in his shoes"[26] and thus obtain an additional vote.

Gayarre printed a parmphlet which denounced the recent election frauds. He said that thousands of people, "aghast at a degree of audacity so barefaced and shameless," saw men carried from one poll to another in furniture carts to vote as often as they were ordered. Gayarre claimed that one-fourth of the entire New Orleans vote was spuriously cast by individuals under the direction of a "corrupt despotic oligarchy," namely, John Slidell and Emile Le Sere. These men, he said, made an honest man's vote worth *one*, while a rogue's was worth *ten*. He asked, "Is this self-government? If we must have a foot on our breast, better be the satin clad one of the prince and the Queen than that of the scavenger." He demonstrated mathematically that 4,000 of the 13,000 votes cast were fraudulent. New Orleans had cast only 9,604 votes in the election the year before, yet 13,102 votes were totalled after the population had been diminished by some 20,000 deaths in a recent yellow fever epidemic, and some 10,000 (estimated) citizens had temporarily fled from the city.[27]

Louisiana was not alone among the states of the Union in having an acute 'foreign-born citizenship problem.' Nativistic movements had about come to a head all over the United States. There also existed a marked feeling of distrust and suspicion of the Catholics. In discussing this exhibition of animosity J. F. Rhodes wrote, "The distrust of Roman Catholicism is a string that can be artfully played upon in any Anglo-Saxon commu-

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[24] He denied a year later that he had ever ceased to be a loyal and staunch Democrat.—Charles Gayarré, *To the Editor of the Washington Union* (small undated, unaddressed pamphlet printed in 1854 or 1855), *passim*.

[25] *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, Oct. 31, 1853.

[26] Baton Rouge *Weekly Comet*, Nov. 13, 1853.

[27] Charles Gayarré, *Address to the People of the State on the Late Frauds Perpetuated at the Election Held on the 7th November, 1853, in the City of New Orleans* (New Orleans, 1853), *passim*; *Southern Sentinel*, Dec. 26, 1853; *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, Dec. 26, 1853; *Capitolian Vis A Vis*, Dec. 28, 1853, Jan. 4, 1854.

nity."[28] Until the forties this distrust in the United States resulted in sporadic movements only. In 1844 an 'American Party' was organized in New York, accompanied by similar movements in Boston, Philadelphia, St. Louis and New Orleans, "each of which cities . . . . elected in whole or in part, an American Republican municipal government."[29] In Philadelphia the sanguinary Kensington and Southward Riots occurred,[30] which attached such odiousness to the name 'native American' that a new one was selected for a later revival of this movement. The American Republicans wished to extend the time of naturalization to twenty-one years and protect it from abuse, to prevent the union of church and state, to give native citizens equal chances to hold office, and to prevent the frequent riots which disgraced the American flag.[31]

The following year an attempt was made to nationalize this movement. Representatives of fourteen states met in convention at Philadelphia and organized the "Native American Party." In the next national election the party nominated Zachary Taylor and Henry Dearborn for the presidency and vice-presidency, but made no campaign.[32] In 1852 the Americans nominated Webster[33] but he refused to run, and nothing more was heard of the "Native American Party."

Two other organizations gave expression to nativitistic sentiment before the more lasting "Know Nothing Party" was founded. In 1844 a secret benevolent association, the Order of the United Americans, was organized and by 1855 had spread to sixteen states.[34] It was non-political but its organization furnished a splendid example for the new American party.[35] In 1849-1850 Charles B. Allen conceived and started "The Order of the Star Spangled Banner." In this organization of approximately forty members, secrecy was stringent. The plan was to control nominations rather than to carry elections.[36]

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[28] Rhodes, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 6.

[29] Brand, *loc. cit.*, No. I, p. 49; Baton Rouge *Weekly Gazette* and *Comet*, Jan. 28, 1858, quoting the *Baton Rouge Gazette*, Nov. 30, 1844.

[30] J. H. Lee, *History of the American Party* (Philadelphia, 1855), chs. I-XXI, *passim*.—This book was written to justify these riots and to remove the odium attached to the conduct of the Native Americans against the Catholics and foreigners.

[31] T. R. Whitney, *A Defense of the American Policy* (New York, 1856), pp. 245-247.

[32] Brand, *loc. cit.*, p. 50.

[33] *National Intelligencer*, July 10, 1852.

[34] Whitney, *op. cit.*, pp. 258-269.

[35] They bound themselves to "release our country from the thraldom of foreign dominion," to protect civil and religious liberties, and "to assail no man for his religious principles." T. R. Whitney was one of the founders of this party.—*Ibid.*, pp. 245-247.

[36] *Ibid.*, p. 280; Brand, *loc. cit.*, p. 52.

In 1852 this order was taken over by new leaders[37] and developed into what was popularly called the "Know Nothing Order." J. B. McMaster[38] and Edward Stanwood[39] say that the Know Nothings were an off-shoot of the United Americans, as they weren't allowed to participate in politics. L. F. Schmeckbier,[40] A. C. Cole,[41] and the Whig Almanac[42] merely state that the origin of the party was obscure. The opposition papers in Louisiana fancifully accredited its origin to a plan worked out by two men, an exiled French Jacobin and a "depraved Amrican," while both were serving a jail term.[43]

In 1852 and 1853 a wave of feeling spread over the United States against the imprisonment of the Madiai family in Tuscany for reading a Protestant Bible, and against the tactless course of the papal nuncio, Bedini, in settling a dispute in the diocese of the bishop of New York.[44] The agitation of Father Gavazzi continued to arouse harsh accusations that the Catholic church was trying to control America.[45]

The leaders of the American party took advantage of this feeling and enlarged the organization into national proportions as early as 1852.[46] By the early part of 1855 the party existed in every state and territory of the Union.[47] On May 14, 1854, a preliminary meeting was held to provide for a convention which met June 17 and drew up a new constitution and ritual.[48] A second Grand Council meeting was held at Cincinnati, November 15, 1854, "with representatives from all states present" to revise the ritual. They adopted the new "Union Degree," proposed by a southern slave-holder, Kenneth Rayner, in which each member swore to maintain the Union. The anti-slavery men strongly protested against this.[49]

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[37] Whitney, *op. cit.*, pp. 281-285; *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, vol. V, p. 554 (August, 1852).

[38] J. B. McMaster, *A History of the People of the United States* (New York, 1913), Vol. VII, p. 83.

[39] Edward Stanwood, *A History of Presidential Elections From 1788-1897* (Boston, 1912), p. 193.

[40] L. F. Schmeckbier, "History of the Know Nothing Party in Maryland," in John Hopkins University *Studies*, Vol. XVII, No. V, p. 9.

[41] Cole, *op. cit.*, pp. 9, 10.

[42] *Tribune Almanac for the Years 1838-1868*, Vol. II, Whig Almanac, 1856, p. 9.

[43] *Louisiana Democrat*, Jan. 3, 1854; *Opelousas Courier*, July 17, 1858.

[44] *Sons of the Sires*, pp. 23-29.

[45] *New Orleans Daily Crescent*, Oct. 14, 27, 1853.

[46] *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, Vol. V, p. 554 (August, 1852); *National Intelligencer*, July 10, 1852.

[47] Brand, *loc. cit.*, No. I, p. 53.

[48] Whitney, *op. cit.*, p. 285.

[49] Cole, *op. cit.*, p. 318.

In 1855 a new ritual[50] was adopted which provided for a lodge system of national, state, county and subordinate councils. The state wigwams authorized by the National Council had power to create new lodges or wigwams with certain limitations. Non-Catholics twenty-one years of age, who believed in a Supreme Being, were elegible for membership. If a member had a Catholic wife he was not eligible for office in the organization.[51]

The National Council consisted of seven delegates from each state. It was the active head; it fixed all laws, passwords, grips, knocks, secret-work, and controlled all matters of national politics. While in convention to nominate candidates, voting was apportioned according to representation in the electoral college. The members and permanent officers received compensation and expenses. Each state was required to pay a four cent tax a member per annum into the national treasury.

There were three degree councils in each wigwam organized. In the first the candidate, after having been introduced by a member, took a rigid oath of secrecy. He then received the secret passwords, identifications, and necessary information, and bound himself to support all candidates nominated by the order regardless of his own convictions. The second degree was composed of more select members who were bound by additional oaths. Only these were eligible to be elected to office within the party, or to be nominated as party candidates entitled to the obligatory support of brother members. The third degree was the Union degree.

The chief principles of the national organization were: extension of the time of naturalization to twenty-one years residence; hostility toward Roman Catholic influence in governmental affairs; the removal of foreign-born citizens from office; and elimination of sectionalism by avoiding discussion of slavery questions.[52]

Only the relatively small number of members of the second and third degrees knew the official name of the "American Party" until all secrecy was dropped in 1857. All members were sworn to secrecy and, since the majority could honestly say they "Knew Nothing" of its name, organization, members, and policies, they were dubbed "Know Nothings."

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[50] T. V. Cooper and H. T. Fenton, *American Politics, From the Beginning to Date* (Philadelphia, 1884), pt. I, pp. 57-68; Cluskey, *op. cit.*, pp. 57, 68; Brand, *op. cit.*, No. I, pp. 80, 81; No. II, pp. 177-181.

[51] It should be remembered that Louisiana never operated strictly under the national ritual.

[52] *Sons of the Sires*, pp. 63-81.

(To be Continued)

A HISTORY OF CONCORDIA PARISH, LOUISIANA

BY

BY ROBERT DABNEY CALHOUN

VIDALIA, LA.

Dedicated to the memory of my father, Judge Nathan Meredith Calhoun

(Continued from October, 1932, Quarterly)

FIFTH INSTALLMENT

CHAPTER XI.

SLAVERY

WE shall write but little on this subject. But as we are endeavoring, to some extent, to picture our early times it should be of interest to incorporate here, in substance, the main provisions of the "Black Code."

This Code, entitled "An act to prescribe the rules and conduct to be observed with respect to negroes and other slaves of this Territory," was passed by the Territorial Council, June 7, 1806;[217] and it is, substantially, the same Code that was first promulgated by Bienville, in 1724,[218] and re-promulgated during the Spanish regime by Carondelet, in 1792.[219] There were forty sections to our act of 1806. Some of the more important provisions, in substance, are noted:

(1) Slaves should have the free enjoyment of Sundays, and should be paid 50 cents per day for Sunday work, excepting household servants, carriage drivers and hospital waiters and slaves carrying provisions to market. (2) Every slave should be furnished by his master with a monthly ration of: One barrel of Indian corn, or its equivalent in rice, beans or other grain, and a pint of salt, under penalty of a $10. fine for failure. (3) Owner required to furnish slave with one linen shirt and pantaloons for the summer, and one linen shirt and woolen great coat and pantaloons for winter. (4) Disabled slaves to be fed by their owners. (5) Owners to provide sick slaves with temporal and spiritual

[217] Acts of 1806, Chapter 33, p. 150.
[218] Fortier, Vol. 1, p. 92.
[219] *Ibid.*, Vol. 2, p. 456.

assistance. (6) An old or disabled slave must be sold with the children whom he elected to go with; sale of children under ten years separately from their mother, prohibited; slaves to be regarded as real estate, and mortgaged and seized in same manner. (7) Assembling of slaves prohibited, and owner prohibited from hiring slave to himself. (8) Slaves caught carrying away provisions, etc. without written permit, to be stopped by anyone, and provisions confiscated as reward. (9) No slave to possess anything in his own right; nor to be a party to a civil suit; nor be a witness in any civil or criminal matter against a white person. (10) Slaves to be prosecuted in criminal cases without making master a party, unless he be an accomplice; trial to be by the Judge, without appeal. (11) Slave required to execute all master's orders except order for commission of crime. (12) Slaves prohibited from carrying fire-arms, and when so caught, weapons to be forfeited to informer as reward. (13) Owners prohibited from giving fire-arms to slaves for hunting, without written permit, and then only to hunt on master's plantation. (14) Freed slaves prohibited from carrying fire-arms, without written permit of Justice of the Peace. (15) In case of robbery or other damage by slave, owner bound, besides corporal punishment of slave, to pay such damage, or abandon slave in satisfaction. (16) Owner not liable for damage by runaway slave, if he has denounced him as a runaway. (17) Selling liquor to slaves, without written permission of owner, prohibited. (18) Slave found on horse-back without written permit, to be arrested and given 25 lashes, and sent back to his master, who shall pay 12½c per mile for his return. (19) Person taking up runaway slave shall declare same to the Judge, who shall make record of the declaration. (20) Jailer to whom runaway slave is delivered shall pay the person apprehending him $10.00, and 50c per league from place of capture to jail, to be recovered from master as costs, with his own costs and expenses. (21) Runaway slaves not claimed by Masters within two years, sold by order of court, after advertisement, and funds, after payment of costs and keep, to be remitted State Treasury.

This Code, in force in Concordia as in other parts of the State, was amended and liberalized from time to time, including the right to a jury and an appeal in criminal prosecutions; but, in the main, its provisions were in force until the abolition of slavery. Slaves were too valuable to be held to the scanty minimum of provisions and clothing required under the Code. Not-

withstanding there may have been an occasional "Simon Legree" in Concordia Parish, as elsewhere, slaves were, as a rule, well-fed and well cared for, and humanely treated by their masters, and were loyal, contented and happy.[220]

Under the United States Constitution, the importation of slaves was prohibited after 1808; but they might be bought in one "slave state," to be taken into another "slave state," under restrictions and the execution and filing of proper declarations. There are probably a thousand of these old declarations in our Parish archives, and we reproduce one here:

"Commonwealth of Virginia,
King George County. } We, John Taliaferro and John P. Taliaferro, freeholders in the County aforesaid, do hereby certify and declare that a female slave, named Judith, aged about 18 years, about 5 feet, 2 or 3 inches in height, of a dark black color, having no particular marks, was purchased from Enoch Mason, in said County; that we have known said slave for several years; and that she has not within our knowledge been guilty or convicted of any crimes, but has a good moral character, and is not in the habit of running away.

Given under our hands.
(signed) John Taliaferro,
John P. Taliaferro.

"Commonwealth of Virginia,
King George County. } I, Alex P. Hooe, a Justice of the Peace for the County aforesaid, and as such duly authorized to administer an oath, do hereby certify that John Taliaferro and John P. Taliaferro, did this day appear before me, and made oath that the foregoing certificate and declaration contained the truth to the best of their knowledge and belief, and acknowledged the same to be their act and deed. And I further certify that the said John Tailaferro and John P. Taliaferro are respectable men, and men of good characters, and are not the vendors of the slave described in the foregoing certificate.

Given under my hand and seal this 31st. day of August, 1829.

(signed) A P. Hooe. (L.S.)

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[220] Saxon, Lyle, *Old Louisiana*, Chapter 21, letters of Mrs. Vincent Perrault, born and reared in Concordia, giving a pleasing and vivid picture, in miniature, of ante bellum plantation life in Concordia and Tensas Parishes.

This is followed by three affidavits in the usual form for the certification of any instrument under the Act of Congress, and by the following declaration of sale:

"State of Louisiana,
Parish of Concordia.

Before me, George S. Guion, Judge of the said Parish of Concordia, Personally came and appeared Jesse Alsop, of Spottsylvania County, State of Virginia, and being duly sworn, he declares and says that he, as Agent for Rice C. Ballard, has this day sold to John Hoover, of the Parish aforesaid, the identical slave mentioned and described in the annexed declaration; and he further declares that the said declaration and the accompanying certificates are genuine.

Sworn to and subscribed
this February 5th, 1830.

(signed) Jesse Alsop.

(signed) George S. Guion, Parish Judge.

There was never a slave market in Concordia, that we know of, but our planters patronized the slave markets in Natchez and New Orleans; and tradition has it that, in the earlier days, they were not averse to doing business with the Pirate Lafitte,[221] who smuggled in slaves at Barataria, and later at "Campeachy," (Galveston), and across the Sabine frontier.

One of the old advertisements in the Concordia Intelligencer, of February 19, 1853, reads as follows:

"Slaves. Slaves. Slaves."

"Having established ourselves at the Forks of the Road, near Natchez, for a term of years, we have now on hand and intend to keep throughout the year, a large and well-selected stock of negroes, consisting of field hands, house servants, mechanics, cooks, seamstresses, washers, ironers, etc., which we can and will sell as low or lower than any other house here or in New Orleans. Persons wishing to purchase would do well to call on us before making purchases elsewhere, as our regular arrivals will keep us supplied with a good general assortment. Our terms are liberal. Give us a call.

Natchez, Oct. 23, 1852,

(signed) Griffin & Pullum.

[221] Saxon, Lyle, *Lafitte, The Pirate*, Chapters 1, 2, re: the Glasscocks, who were residents of Concordia.

In the same paper we find the "Register of Runaways" for Louisiana and Mississippi, with the statement that it is corrected weekly. These old advertisements are accompanied by quaint wood-cuts of negroes—with a stick across the shoulder, from which is suspended a bundle tied up in a cloth or handkerchief.

The following record[222] of the trial, conviction and execution of a slave for murder, is interesting:

"The State of Louisiana,
Parish of Concordia.

Be it remembered, that on the 24th. day of September, 1819, Wilson, a man slave, and Andrew, a man slave, and Anthony, a man slave, all the property of Daniel M. Bondurant, of said Parish, were brought before the Honorable Edward Broughton, Judge in and for said Parish, on a charge of felony, for that they, on or about the — day of August last past, did wickedly, wilfully and of malice aforethought murder a certain Nicholas Delouma, and another person whose name is unknown. Said prisoners having undergone an examination, were committed to jail by order of the Honorable Edward Broughton aforesaid, in order that jurors or triers might be summoned to hear and determine in conjunction with the Hon. the Judge aforesaid, agreeably to the provisions of the statute in such case made and provided. In pursuance of an order from His honor, the Judge aforesaid, the following summons was issued in the words and figures as follows to-wit:

"The State of Louisiana,
Parish of Concordia.

To Joseph Vidal Sr., Sam'l. Davis, Peter Nardon, John Kimbell and John P. Arnaud:

You are hereby summoned forthwith to appear before the Parish Court in and for the Parish of Concordia aforesaid, at the Town of Vidalia, then and there to serve as triers or jurors to hear and determine a certain matter of controversy now pending in said Court, wherein the State of Louisiana is Plaintiff, and Wilson and Andrew and Anthony, men slaves, the property of Daniel M. Bondurant, are defendants. Herein fail not.

Witness the Hon. Broughton, Judge of said Court, this 25th. day of September, 1819.

(signed) J. Dunlap,
Clerk of the Parish of Concordia."

Joseph Vidal, Samuel Davis, Peter Nardon and John Kimbell having appeared in Court, and Arnaud having been duly served

[222] "Record of Suits 1809-1828," pp. 179, 180, 181. Archives.

and called and made default, the Court directed that John D. Smith be summoned, and then adjourned to Monday, September 27, at ten o'clock.

"Monday, September 27th, 1819

"The Court met agreeably to adjournment. The prisoners aforesaid having been brought forth, were duly arraigned and plead 'Not Guilty', and the following persons having been duly summoned and called as triers or jurors, answered, to-wit:

Joseph Vidal Sr., Samuel Davis, Peter Nardon, John Kimbell and John D. Smith, who having first been empaneled and sworn well and truly to try the issue joined between the State of Louisiana, plaintiff, and Wilson, Andrew and Anthony, the persons at the bar aforesaid, defendants. The said triers or jurors, under the superintendence and direction of the Hon. the Judge of the Parish aforesaid, having heard the evidence and allegations, as well on behalf of the State of Louisiana, as of the persons at the Bar, on their oath say:

" 'We find the defendant Anthony not guilty as he stands charged before the Court. The defendant Andrew we find not guilty of the murder, but for certain improprieties in his, said Andrew's conduct, we sentence him to receive thirty-nine lashes on his bare back, in front of the jail, and an equal number to be inflicted by his master, D. M. Bondurant, when he shall arrive at the present place of residence of said Bondurant; and that he, the said Andrew, shall wear an iron collar around his neck, with two iron prongs, one on each side, of twelve inches in length, for and during the term of six months. The defendant Wilson we find guilty of murder in the first degree, and sentence him to death according to law."

(signed)
Edward Broughton,
Judge of the Parish of
Concordia.

Samuel Davis,
Joseph Vidal,
Jno. D. Smith
Peter Nardon,
John Kimbell.
Jurors.

"Sentence of death having been pronounced against the slave Wilson, and he, the said Wilson, having been duly appraised by persons legally qualified and authorized for that purpose, at the sum of Five Hundred Dollars, the execution was appointed by the warrant of the Judge aforesaid, to take place on Saturday, the second day of October, between the hours of ten o'clock A. M. and two o'clock P. M. of that day,

until which time the prisoner, Wilson, was remitted to the jail of said Parish. Court adjourned sine die."

"Saturday, October 2, 1819":

"In pursuance of the warrant for execution aforesaid, the said Wilson was this day, by the Sheriff of the Parish aforesaid, publicly executed by hanging him by the neck until he was dead."

This author is the proud possessor of two books on Slavery written by Concordians. The first, a ponderous volume of 650 pages, STUDIES ON SLAVERY, was written by *John Fletcher*, a Lake Concordia planter, and was published by Jackson Warner, Natchez, in 1852. It is said, in the Publisher's foreword, that "the author has confined himself to the moral and ethical bearings of the question, scarcely touching upon its political aspects." Few would have the time or hardihood to read this abstract treatise, and it is prized by the writer merely as an item in his modest collection of *Concordiana*.

The second, a book of some 400 pages, is from the pen of *George S. Sawyer*, a Vidalia lawyer, and was published by Lippincott & Co., Philadelphia, 1859. In his preface, which is dated "Concordia, La., October 1, 1857," the author states that he was "born and reared in a New England State and educated at one of her oldest colleges, and that for the past fifteen years he has been a resident of Louisiana, and a member of the Louisiana Bar." The title page of this book reads: "SOUTHERN INSTITUTES; OR AN INQUIRY INTO THE ORIGIN AND EARLY PREVALENCE OF SLAVERY AND THE SLAVE TRADE: WITH AN ANALYSIS OF THE LAWS, HISTORY, AND GOVERNMENT OF THE INSTITUTION IN THE PRINCIPAL NATIONS, ANCIENT AND MODERN, FROM THE EARLIEST AGES DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME, WITH NOTES AND COMMENTS IN DEFENCE OF THE SOUTHERN INSTITUTIONS." This book is the work of a scholar. It is copiously annotated and evidences an enviable familiarity of its author with the Greek and Latin classics. The literary merit which the book possesses entitles Sawyer to a place on the permanent roll of Louisiana's outstanding authors; and it should be consulted by anyone making a restudy of this subject. Sawyer represented the Parish successfully, during the '70's, in a protracted litigation over its bonded debt. He is remembered by some of our older citizens, and amusing stories of his many little idiosyncrasies are yet related.

CHAPTER XII.

SECESSION AND CIVIL WAR

Over sixty-five years have passed since the Civil War ended, and nearly all of the heroes of the "Lost Cause" have answered "Taps"—only one is left in Concordia. Their privations and sufferings, their sacrifice of life, their brilliant and valiant actions on many battle-fields over the Southland, during the fearful struggle from 1861 to 1865, form a chapter in our past history which we should never forget. While our forefathers suffered, fought and died for what they believed to be the right, time has healed the ugly wounds occasioned by this great contest of arms and time has also blown away and scattered the bitter ashes of "Reconstruction." To-day, without any disloyalty to the memory of our departed heroes, we can all say, in all sincerety and satisfaction, that we now have "a more perfect union."

When the Secession Convention assembled at Baton Rouge, on January 23, 1861, Concordia was represented by its Parish delegates, Joseph E. Miller and Zebulon York. John Perkins Jr., of Madison, and Lemuel P. Conner, of Concordia, represented the Senatorial District composed of Madison, Tensas and Concordia Parishes.[223]

The Parochial delegates from Tensas were Samuel M. Dorsey and William D. Anderson; from Madison, William R. Peck and Claiborne C. Briscoe; and from East Carroll, Edward Sparrow and John H. Martin.[224]

These delegates had been elected at an election held for that purpose on January 7, 1861, and the sentiment in Concordia, as reflected in the choice of our Convention members, was 198 votes for and 56 votes against secession.[225]

John Perkins Jr. was the Temporary Chairman of the Convention; and upon the election of Ex-Governor Mouton as Convention President, Perkins was made Chairman of the Committee of Fifteen to draft and report an ordinance of secession.[226]

The Secession Ordinance reported, and finally adopted on January 26, 1861, by a vote of 113 Yeas to 17 Nays, received the affirmative vote of all our members.[227]

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[223] Original Journal Secession Convention, La. State Museum.

[224] *Ibid.*

[225] Greer, James Kimmins, *Louisiana Politics*, 1845-1861, *La. Hist. Qy.*, Vol. 13, No. 4, p. 641, (October, 1930).

[226] *Ibid.*, p. 647.

[227] *Ibid.*, p. 649, where ordinance is quoted in full; also Fortier, Vol. 2, pp. 436-441; Chambers, Vol. 1, p. 622.

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The Convention recessed, to meet at New Orleans on January 30th, when six delegates were elected from the State to the Convention of the seceding states, to be held at Montgomery, Alabama, February 4, 1861.[228] Perkins was elected one of the two delegates-at-large, and Sparrow as the delegate from the Third Congressional District.[229] A provisional government of the Confederate States was formed at that time,[230] and a permanent Constitution was adopted on February 18, 1862.[231]

Our Secession Convention remained in session in New Orleans during March, 1861, and ratified the provisional Constitution of the Confederate States, adopted at Montgomery, and amended our State Constitution to conform to the new order.[232]

In the meantime, the Legislature, in regular session, on February 8, 1861, adopted a resolution affirming the right of the State to secede, and declaring that any attempt at coercion, "will be viewed by the people of Louisiana, as well on her own account as well as of her sister Southern States, as a hostile invasion, and resisted to the utmost extent."[233]

This author has examined the original journal of the Secession Convention, in the archives of the State Museum at New Orleans. It is a huge volume of several hundred pages. At the time of the Federal occupation of Baton Rouge, the State House was looted, and this book was stolen by a Federal soldier. It fell into the hands of a Union Officer whose home was in Rhode Island. It remained in his family until 1929, when it was gracefully restored to the State by his son.[234] From our examination of it, we find that all of our delegates took a very prominent part in the Convention proceedings, and particularly Lemuel P. Conner, who was an able lawyer.

John Perkins represented this Congressional District in the Congress of the Confederate States until the Confederacy passed into history. He also represented this District in the 33rd. U. S. Congress.[235]

Our Civil War preparations, as disclosed by our Police Jury proceedings, should be interesting.

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[228] Fortier, Vol. 2, p. 440.

[229] *Ibid.*, p. 440.

[230] Davis, Jefferson, *"Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, Vol. No. 1, p. 229.

[231] *Ibid.*, Vol. 1, 640, where Confederate Constitution is incorporated in full.

[232] Fortier, Vol. 2, p. 440.

[233] *Ibid.*, p. 440.

[234] Recitals of his letter returning it. La. Historical Society Archives.

[235] Fortier, Vol. 2, p. 310.

At the meeting of the Jury on April 16, 1861, a Committee was appointed, consisting of Z. York, Charles Crossgrove and Isaac Lum, "to report a resolution as to what aid and steps should be taken by the Police Jury of Concordia for her defence, in view of the threatening aspects of the times, clearly foreshadowing war"; and, on April 19th, the Committee brought in a report, which was unanimously adopted: "heartily approving the policy and course of the Confederate States," and appropriating $10,000.00, "for the purpose of arming and equipping such military corps as may be raised in this parish .... out of which there shall be paid $750.00 to the " 'Black River Mounted Riflemen" ', and a sum sufficient to purchase at least two cannons for an artillery company to be organized in the Parish." A. H. Brenham, A. T. Welch, E. B. Whittaker, S. C. Scott and Lemuel P. Conner were appointed a Military Committee to make all purchases, expenditures, etc.

At the Jury meeting of July 23, 1861, an appropriation of $200. per annum was made to Mrs. Mary White, "whose son and son-in-law are in Virginia fighting the battles of our country"; and the Military Committee recommended that provision be made for the families of all volunteers needing assistance. It was further resolved: "that should the war not be terminated by our October meeting, that we favor assessing at that time a war tax of $50,000.00, to be collected in cash, and paid over to the Confederate States Government, in exchange for bonds."

At the Jury meeting of October 21, 1861, an appropriation of $4,000.00 was made for completing the equipment of the "Concordia Cavalry," commanded by Captain Joseph Benjamin.

At the meeting of October 25, 1861, the Military Committee, through Conner, Chairman, reported:

(1) That they had appropriated $2,000.00 to the "Concordia Rifles," to pay bills for their equipment which had been guaranteed by York & Hoover;

(2) That they had expended $2005.68 for underclothing for "Concordia Rifles." "They thank the Ladies Confederate Sewing Society of Natchez for their valuable aid."

(3) They have appropriated $3,000.00 to the "Concordia Cavalry," and have expended $750.00 in payment for equipment furnished "Concordia Mounted Rifles."

(4) They have appropriated $600.00 for equipping the "Concordia Star Guards."

(5) They have made appropriations to Mrs. Delahoste, Mrs. Matthews, Mrs. Rawlings and Mrs. Campbell, (amounts specified); and after satisfying these appropriations, they have to their credit $1259.25.

At the Jury meeting next day, October 26, 1861:

It was unanimously resolved that $2,000.00 be appropriated, upon the application of C. G. Duke, P. H. Crooks and A. F. Mardis, to equip a Company for the War, now raising in the Parishes of Catahoula and Concordia, to be drawn and expended by Military Board when the Company is fully oragnized and mustered into the service.

An ordinance was passed levying a special tax of 1/4th of 1% on the assessed values on Roll of 1861, proceeds to be applied to payment of appropriations for military purposes heretofore made.

A resolution was adopted authorizing the Tax Collector to receive Confederate Treasury notes and Louisiana Bank notes in payment of all taxes.

At the meeting of March 10, 1862, Mr. Peebles, of the "Vidalia House" was authorized to board and lodge all volunteers now in Vidalia, or who may arrive before permanent provision is made for their subsistence, belonging to Dr. W. T. Miller's Company, at not exceeding $1. per day per man, limited to one week.

At the meeting of March 11, 1862:

(1) A bounty of $100. was voted to be paid every volunteer joining the Companies being raised by Dr. W. T. Miller, Matthew Carr and S. C. Scott, on their being fully organized and mustered into the Confederate service for the war.
(2) A bounty of $50.00 was voted to be paid each volunteer in a Company being raised by John Ker in Catahoula Parish, payment to be made on muster into service for the war; and a like bounty to each volunteer in Catahoula Company, as applied for by Major William Beard.
(3) $50,000.00 in 8%, 12-months, bonds were voted to be issued to meet the aforesaid "Bounty" appropriations, and Lemuel P. Conner and S. H. Lambdin were appointed Agents to negotiate their sale.
(4) An appropriation of $25,000.00 was made for relief to families needing assistance of volunteers mustered into Confederate service in Companies now raising by Matthew Carr, S. C. Scott and W. T. Miller.

(5) Parish warrants were authorized to be issued in sum of $50,000, in denominations of 25c, 50c, $1.00, $2.00, $3.00 and $5.00, and when presented to Parish Treasurer in sums of $500., to be fundable into 8% one, two and three-year Parish Bonds, signed by President & Treasurer, and printing of warrants authorized.

(6) A special *ad valorem* war tax of 3/4ths of 1% was levied on the assessment of 1862 to meet bond and warrant payments.

At the meeting of March 12, 1862, the appropriation for relief of families of volunteers in the several companies was increased to $40,000.00; and S. B. Oswalt was appointed to the Military Board, succeeding S. C. Scott, resigned. (There were no other "War Minutes" of Police Jury).

The Concordia Intelligencer of April 25, 1862, (the only wartime issue we have) contains some interesting items. There is an editorial, "Confederate Conscript Law," from which we excerpt:

> "This law makes every able-bodied white male citizen between the ages of 18 and 35 years a soldier, liable at once to be mustered in and sent away to some regiment now in service. It is to all intents and purposes a draft; and the only question, by those to whom it applies, is how to avoid its effects. Many doubtless flatter themselves with the hope that a substitute will be received in their place; but from the object, intention and meaning of the law as is recommended by the President in his late message, we believe that no substitute can be received, because they must be of that class of population either under 18 or over 35 which the law intends to keep at home for business purposes. The only honorable and legitimate way we can see to avoid the effects of this law, is to volunteer at once, before all volunteering is done away with" . . . .

The editor then calls attention to the Companies being formed in Concordia and Catahoula; and to the bounties paid to volunteers; and to the fact that "Conscripts get no bounty."

In its news items, the paper states that it had recently had the pleasure of a visit from Lieut. R. B. Walters, of the "Catahoula Guerillas", returning from Virginia to Catahoula for recruits to fill vacancies caused by death, etc. That since the death of Captain Buhoup, the Company had been reorganized with the following officers: Captain, S. W. Spencer, 1st Lieutenant, William Guss, 2nd Lieutenant, R. B. Walters. "An opportunity is

here presented of enlisting in one of the best drilled and most favored Companies in the service. The fame which it acquired for heroic deeds on the bloody plains of Manassas is a richer boon than a bounty. Who will come forward to fill the war-worn ranks of this illustrious Company?"

This little paper also contains a copy of the resolutions of respect to the memory of Captain J. W. Buhoup, adopted at Camp Taylor, Va., by the members of his Command, on March 25, 1862.

We also find advertisements of the Military Board, and advertisements calling for volunteers, with "bounty privileges", etc.

We have made diligent search and inquiry for information concerning the several military companies organized and sent out from Concordia. As to some of them, little, if anything, can be obtained. In the list of Louisiana organizations contained in "Records of Louisiana Confederate Soldiers and Louisiana Confederate Commands", compiled by Andrew B. Booth, Commissioner Louisiana Military Records, we find: "*Black River Mtd. Rifles* served in Concordia Regt. Ind." and "*Concordia Rifles*, Co. F. 13th La. Infy., Sulakowski's, afterwards 14th. La."[236]

The cavalry company organized by Captain Joseph Benjamin in the fall of 1861, became Company "F" First Louisiana Cavalry. Benjamin resigned the Captaincy in October, 1862, and was succeeded by C. B. Wheeler, promoted from a 2nd Lieutenant. Other Lieutenants were: T. H. Runyon, Hughes Wilson and L. Campbell, with John Harges, John Rennels and C. H. Wilson, Sergeants.[237]

Captain Benjamin afterwards organized a cavalry unit in Natchitoches and Rapides which was known throughout the War as "Benjamin's Cavalry." After the war, Captain Wheeler taught school in the Liddell family, and at Trinity, and later became President of Arizona College, in North Louisiana. The official records are extremely meager as to the service of this Command, but we find it operating in and about Irvine, Somerset and Lancaster, Kentucky, in the fall of 1862 and the spring of 1863, where many of Company "F" were taken prisoner.

Company "C" of the 25th. Louisiana Infantry was organized at Monterey in March, 1862, with Samuel C. Scott as Cap-

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[236] Booth, Andrew B., *Records of La. Confederate Soldiers and La. Confederate Commands*, Vol. 1, pp. 7 and 9. (Cited hereafter as Off. Rec. La. Confd. Soldiers).

[237] This, and subsequent information obtained by search of and compilation from Off. Rec. La. Confd. Soldiers, unless otherwise noted.

tain. Captain Scott died in Kentucky, October 15, 1862, and was succeeded by John M. Clayton, promoted from a 1st. Lieutenancy. Other Lieutenants in this unit were: Thomas L. McLean, Morton T. Nolen, Leonard C. Tennison, and John H. Prater, with Fountain L. Campbell, Simon P. Magoun, Robert J. Prater, Alexander Sloan and William W. Sojourner, Sergeants. Captain Clayton was wounded at Murfreesboro, and Lieut. McLean died Jan. 24, 1863, of wounds at same place. Lieut. Nolan was wounded at Missionary Ridge.

Company "F" of the 25th. Louisiana Infantry was organized at Vidalia about the same time, with Dr. W. T. Miller as its Captain. Captain Miller was wounded in 1863, and resigned, and was succeeded by J. A. Cullum, promoted from 1st. Lieutenancy, and Cullum was succeeded by George L. Walton, also a 1st. Lieutenant. D. D. Miller and W. N. Chevalier were Lieutenants; and A. B. Babbitt, J. Guillory, B. Kissam, J. W. Moore and J. C. McCarty were Sergeants and W. R. Floyd, Drummer.

Mr. William A. Cross, a member of Company "C", tells us that these two Companies left Vidalia together, by boat, for Memphis, in March, 1862; and that the most sanguinary conflict they were engaged in was at Murfreesboro, which is borne out by our examination of the casualty list of their personnel. He also tells us that the two Companies were in the campaigns about Chattanooga, and, except for a remnant, were captured by Grant at Missionary Ridge; and that these remnants were consolidated into Company "E", 16th. & 25th. Regiments, and opposed the advance of Sherman on Atlanta, where Mr. Cross was wounded.

Many Concordians served in the Virginia campaigns, in Commany "F" of the 14th, (originally of the 13th), Louisiana Regiment. Zebulon York was Lieutenant Colonel of this Regiment when it went to Virginia in 1861. The following spring, the Regiment was on the Peninsular in General Longstreet's Division; and during the "Seven Days Battle", as Colonel of the Regiment, York led it through that terrible ordeal. After the campaigns of the Second Manassas, Maryland and Fredericksburg, Col. York was sent to Louisiana to organize and drill recruits for the Army of Northern Virginia. Afterwards, he returned and took part in the Gettysburg Campaign. On May 31, 1864, he was commissioned Brigadier General and assigned to command of all Louisiana troops in the army of Northern Virginia. The Louisiana troops were in Early's Corps when he crossed the Potomac, defeated

Wallace at the Monocacy and advanced to the very suburbs of Washington. At the Battle of Winchester, September 9, 1864, General York was severely wounded, losing an arm, which incapacitated him from further active service in 1864.[238] After the war, General York was one of our lawyers, and a business and political leader. He was Parish Treasurer in the 80's. During the flood of 1882, according to old articles in the "Times Democrat," he was in charge of the relief steamers, moving out people and stock from the Black, Little and Tensas Rivers, and managed the distribution of rations.

W. P. (or W. H.), Campbell, of Company "F", of the 14th. was Acting Assistant Regimental Surgeon. The First Lieutenant, Christian Neighbors was wounded at Gettysburg; and Second Lieutenant Robert H. Miller, was killed Aug. 29, 1862. First Sergt. William A. Beard was killed at Cedar Creek, Oct. 19, 1864; First Sergt. Anthony Blair died in a Hospital in August, 1862; Sergt. James Kenny wounded Jan. 3, 1862; Sergt. L. T. Merrill died May 7, 1863, from wounds received at Chancellorsville—all Concordia men.

Other officers accredited to Concordia Parish in various Commands:

Eustace Surget, (of Concordia and Natchez), of the 7th. La. Infy., Assistant Adjutant General under Dick Taylor;

Joseph H. Dale, Captain Company "I", 15th. La. Inf., wounded at Battle of Manassas and Battle Belle Grove;

Alfred V. Davis, Captain Co. "E", 4th. Batt'n. La. Infy;

Wade H. Hough, Captain Co. "K" and Colonel 12th. La. Infy;

John Ker, (of Catahoula & Concordia), Captain Co. ———, Catahoula Batt.

A. F. Mardis, Lieutenant Co. "K", 17th. La. Infy.

This writer has spent many weary hours in an attempt to compile a list of Confederate Soldiers from Concordia Parish. The official State record is a work of some 3,700 pages, in three immense volumes, containing the detailed records of some 50,000 soldiers, listed in alphabetical order; and it does not purport to be complete, on account of missing or defective muster rolls and the fact that all muster rolls of Kirby Smith's Army were burned at Shreveport before the surrender. In many instances, the *"residence"* of the soldier is not given. In compiling the appended lists,

[238] Fortier, Vol. 2, p. 665.

we have included men who enlisted in Concordia, where their residence is stated to be here or is not given, but we have excluded enlistments here of men whose residence is given as elsewhere; and we have included men who enlisted elsewhere, with their residence given as Concordia, or where we recognize them as Concordians. We know there are omissions, but we offer our compilation as being the best we can do. For the detail-record of any particular soldier listed by us, or for any one omitted, the official record should be consulted.

COMPANY "F", FIRST LOUISIANA CAVALRY:

L. L. Bartler, Ludwig Bartler, T. Bell, (d. Courtland, Ala. Jun., '62), E. Bernard, Joseph Benjamin, Captain; Frank Boyle, M. Branagan, (wounded Lancaster, Ky., 7/30/63), H. Blackburn, J. A. Burchman, E. Burke, Eugene Campbell, (d. 1/10/65), George P. Campbell, John Beasley Campbell, L. Campbell, Lieut.; W. W. Carney, Michael Connerly, A. Crooks, Matthew Crooks, T. B. Cunningham, T. W. Cunningham, B. Donyhu, J. Farley, H. Fenton, Patrick Fitzgerald, James Forsythe, M. J. Greany, Lieutenant; James Gunn, James Gurim, (wounded Chickamaugua 10/3/63), S. L. Hall, (wounded Murfreesboro 1/5/63), R. Hamilton, John Hargest, Edward B. Hay, R. A. Hay, A. Herrick, R. P. Holland, (wounded Murfreesboro), J. L. House, J. Hughes, W. I. Johnson, M. Kelly, M. LePrarie, J. D. Miller, L. B. Mills, D. Minnogue, T. Mooney, William McGrau, William Noland, M. Parkman, W. S. Pease, John Rennels, W. D. Robinson, T. H. Runyon, (Lieutenant); H. Salsberry (killed Murfreesboro 1/5/63), Benjamin Schatz, T. Shriver; John J. Shriver; O. B. Sledge, Thomas Stokes, D. Sullivan, (d. Moulton, Ala., 6/2/62), J. Sullivan, A. Toner, C. B. Wheeler, (captain), Alfred Wilson, (d. Hospl. Baltimore 4/20/63), C. H. Wilson, C. L. G. Wilson, Hughes Wilson, (Lieutenant), J. M. Wilson.

COMPANY "C" 25TH. LOUISIANA INFANTRY:

Frances M. Albritton, (d. 1/1/62), William Berry, (d. Hospt. Atlanta 2/13/63), Samuel Burns, (wounded Murfreesboro, d. 1/12/63), John Butler, Samuel E. Byrd, (wounded Murfreesboro, d. 1/7/63), Andrew Campbell, (killed action Murfreesboro 12/31/62), F. L. Campbell, Charles A. Carr, Patrick Casey (d. ab't. 5/1/62), Stephen C. Clark, John M. Clayton, Captain, (wounded Murfreesboro, 12/31/62), Eason H. Cobb, (d. 5/27/62), John Crane, William A. Cross, (wounded Atlanta 8/13/64), B. D. Crouch, (d. 5/6/62), T. H. Curry, (d. ——), William R. Dale, Benjamin L. Davis, S. J. Denman, William Fastman,

James Gaffney, (d. 6/15/—), Owen S. Gibbs, John F. Gibson, (d. 5/30/62), Nathan Calhoun, Joseph Graeff, (d. Eaglesville, Tenn. 12/21/62), Josiah Hanson, (d. Tullahoma, Tenn, 2/1/63), John R. Harman, Benjamin F. Joy, Thomas Kiernan; Benno Kistner, Jesse Lanehart, (d. Jun. 8, —), Jacob Lanehart, Simon P. MaGoun; John Miller; Andrew Moore, (d. ——), Louis H. Marrero, John A. McCaskill, (d. 1/30/63, wounds Murfreesboro), David McClure, John McDonald, Thomas L. McLean, (Lt. d. 1/24/63, wounds Murfreesboro), David McNeely, Morton T. Nolen, (Lt. wounded Missionary Ridge 11/25/63), Richard E. Noyes, William H. Noyes, John J. O'Brien, (d. Rock Island Bks. 1/17/64), Newton M. Parks, John H. Prater, Robert J. Prater, (d. 5/15/—), Anderson Price, (d. May 1—), William Rice, Charles Richey, J. A. S. Richmond, (killed action Murfreesboro 12/31/62), John B. Robinson, Augustus Sarnazy, William Schiele, (wounded Missionary Ridge, 11/25/63), Samuel C. Scott, Captain, (d. Kentucky 10/5/62), Thomas F. Scott, Alexander Sloan, James L. Smith, John Smith, (wounded Murfreesboro 12/31/62), John J. Smith; William S. W. Sojourner, Joseph Steel, (wounded Murfreesboro 12/30/62), Leonard C. Tennison, Peter Tevelin, William G. Thompson, Powhattan F. Tucker, Calvin Urser, W. G. Watson, (d. May 30—), John Welsh, B. G. Willett, William Willett, David K. Williams, James Williamson, Thomas R. Wilson, (wounded Murfreesboro, d. 1/17/63), Arthur E. Young, (killed action Murfreesboro 12/31/62), Henry L. Young, J. Young (d. Oxford, Miss. 5/7/62).

COMPANY "F", 25TH LOUISIANA INFANTRY:

J. Anselem, (d. Jun. 16—), R. Andry, R. Aycock, (d.-5/1/62), W. Aycock, (d. 5/1/62), A. B. Babbitt, (wounded), R. T. Bagley; J. Barlow, (d. Corinth, Miss.), J. Black, G. W. Blackwell, R. Bodin, B. F. Book, Frederick Bower, (wounded 9/20/63), George Briggs, John Briggs, P. Briggs, (d. 6/29—), Thomas Briggs, J. D. Brown, (d. 6/10/62), W. S. Brown, (d. 6/8/62), R. M. Brook, J. B. Burt, (d. date unknown), W. Burt, (d. 5/14/63, Dalton, Ga.) Joe Campbell, W. N. Chevalier, (Lieutenant), W. Cleghorn, Robert Colter, Samuel Cooley, George Craddock, J. A. Cullum, (Lt., Captain); J. Dittree, (d. Nov., 62), J. Tgan, (d. 4/21—), P. H. Fisher, W. R. Floyd, Colin Fogle, Boldin Foster, James B. (R?) Foster, (wounded, d. Murphreesboro 12/31/62), J. Guillory; James Hampton; Frederick Harnach, (d. 1/11/63 of wounds Murfreesboro), A. Hoffman, (killed in action 5/9/62), J. Holleman, (d. 5/27—) B. Joffrion, (d. 6/20/62), Joe Joffrion, S. Joffrion, (d. 6/24/62), W. Johnson, (wounded, d. Mobile 5/2/65), W. T.

Jorden, J. Kean, John Kernan, (d. of wounds Murphreesboro 1/6/63), Benjamin Kimball, B. Kissam, (d. date unknown), E. Lamoutain, (d. July, 63), C. Lander, (d. 4/23/62), B. F. Lanius, (d. 9/22/63 of wounds at Chickamaugua), W. E. Lanius, (wounded Jackson, Miss., 7/14/63), J. W. Lee, J. H. Leopard, (d. 5/16/62), George Lewis, W. F. Mangus, J. Martin, D. D. Miller, (Lt.), W. T. Miller, (Captain, wounded 1863), W. R. Mizzelle, (d. Sept. '63), J. Mizzles, J. W. Moore, J. C. McCarty, J. Nichols, W. Norwood, J. K. Patterson, John Pecanty, A. Poor, O. Pry, (d. 6/22/62), M. Quinn, (d. Jun. '62), A. B. Rainbolt, J. H. Rainbolt, J. W. Rose, (d. 6/12/62), T. Scott, A. Shriver, John Sion, (d. 9/21/63, wounds at Chickamaugua), W. G. Spring, (d. 5/29/63, Tunnel Hill, Ga.); D. S. Stampley, (d. Jun. '62), J. A. Tassant, G. W. Thompson, (d. 6/12/62), J. Thompson, J. R. Thompson, J. T. Tooley, W. A. Trisler, F. H. Vaughn, T. J. Vaughn, (wounded Jackson, Miss., 7/14/63), E. Voorhies, (wounded Chickamaugua 9/20/63), J. Vorsell, J. C. Waldron, George L. Walton, (Captain), Walton, (Captain) W. Webb, (d. date unknown), W. West, (killed 8/7/64 on picket line), D. F. White, Joe White.

COMPANY "D", 31ST LOUISIANA INFANTRY:

A. E. Bonner, (1st. Lt.), J. H. Brown, H. R. Cato, (Co. A.), J. F. Chapman (Co. A.), E. Y. Coker, (Co. A.), John Crooks, (Co. A. d. Vicksburg 1/10/63/), W. F. Eams, S. L. Elam, (Co. A.), John Enright, John J. Etheridge, (Co. E.), C. H. Girlinghouse, E. W. Griswold, J. E. Hall, M. Hall, J. B. Harper, (d. Jackson, Miss. 8/22/62), J. W. Hewlett, W. H. H. Hewlett, A. G. Hughes, H. C. Hughes, T. M. Hughes, John Humphress, J. M. Hunt, J. S. Jones, (Co. A.), Elijah Lawley, (Co. F.), L. Mewhiney, William Murray, G. B. McDonald, B. A. McHenry, F. M. Newman, J. E. O'Leary, J. M. Parker, (d. in camp Vicksburg 2/5/63), M. Parker, J. M. Peyton, (Co. E), Joseph Price, William Price, W. P. Read, J. R. Reaves, W. F. Reesor, (d. Jackson, Miss. 7/27/62), Job Ryan, H. O. Slay, Daniel Smith, William H. Squyres, G. F. Stephens, E. L. Tarver, J. M. Thomas, 2nd. Lt., W. J. R. Turner, B. B. Walker, H. W. Walker, A. Wallace, W. W. Walters, (Lieut.), E. H. Whatley, R. J. Yancy; William Young.

COMPANY "F", 14TH. LOUISIANA INFANTRY:

William A. Beard, (killed Cedar Creek 10/19/64), Anthony Blair, (d. Hospl. Aug., 1862), Reason D. Buttler, (d. Hospl., Richmond, 7/15/62) Henry Campbell, (d. Hospl., Richmond, July, 62), W. P. Campbell, (Ass't Reg. Surgeon), William Cobble, (wounded Sharpsburg), Peter

Dunn, Lawrence Dwery, (wounded Fraser's Farm), E. C. Eastman, (wounded Winchester, Va. 9/9/64), A. Friday or Freidag, William Grosser, (d. 5/24/63 of wounds at Chancellorsville), Michael Kalaher, (wounded Chancellorsville), James Kenny, (wounded 1/3/62), Louis Lemonnier, (Bugler), F. M, Matthews, (wounded Gettysburg 7/3/63), L. T. Merrell, (d. 5/7/63 of wounds Chancellorsville), Robert H. Miller, (Lieut. killed 8/29/62), Christian Neighbors, (Lieut., wounded Gettysburg), Patrick O'Brien, John Pullin, (d. 9/1/61, Yorktwon, Va.), Nathan Rawlings, (wounded June, 62), B. W. S. Rawlings, (killed Fraser's Farm 6/30/62), P. Rey, (killed Frazier's Farm 6/30/62), Charles Ross, Vincent Schmidt, J. Spruell, Victor Sultner, (wounded Williamsburg), James Sweeny, (d. Jul.—), Edward Umphreys.

MISCELLANEOUS COMMANDS:

C. W. Babbitt, 1st. Lieut. Engineers, 4th Battn. Infy, Robert L. Castleman, C. H. Crosgrove and Simeon D. Crosgrove—all Wood's Regt. La. Cav. and Tensas Cavalry, J. D. Craddock, Co. "I", 3rd Infy, J. D. Curry, 37th Miss. Infy, W. W. V. Falkenbridge, Co. "A", 4th. Batt'n. Infy, B. F. Glasscock, Co. "H" 3rd. (Wingfield's) La. Cavalry, J. H. Gillespie, Co. "E" 1st. La. Heavy Art'y, J. N. Haynes, Bondurant's Company of Harrison's Cav, James W. Holland. Co. "I", 15th La. Infy., (wounded Sharpsburg), W. W. Holland,—same—(wounded battle Belle Grove), John Kane, Co. B. 1st La. Heavy Art'y, I. Kean, Co. B, 1st La. Infy., Joseph Marcell Co. E, 1st. La. Heavy Art'y., Frederick Scheuber, Co. G, Crescent Reg., (d. Berwick City 7/25/63), William A. Scott, Lieutenant, Co. "A", 17th. La. Infy., R. D. Sessions, Co. F, 4th. Battn. Inf., Z. S. Thompson, Co. A, 17th. Infy., William White, Cos. G. & I, 15th. La. Infy; James D. Halliday, James Reitzell, Pleasant Roe, William W. Rogers, Andrew Sharone, Daniel Schumate and William Strait—all of Co. D, 12th, La. Infy.

CHAPTER XIII

MILITARY OPERATIONS

We turn our attention now to the military operations in our near vicinity, where the war was more or less desultory. Nearly all of the soldiers from Concordia had gone to the theatre of war further to the north and east. Sketching the major operations in Louisiana, they may be said to be these: The running of the

batteries of Forts Jackson and St. Philip by Farragut's fleet in the spring of 1862, and their surrender, and the occupation of New Orleans, first, by Farragut, on April 30, 1862, followed by the occupation of the City by General Ben Butler, on the 1st. of May, and which gave the United States the control of the Mississippi from Port Hudson, south, during the remainder of the war; secondly, the defence of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, and Genral Grant's campaign down the west side of the Mississippi, through the Parishes of East Carroll, Madison and upper Tensas, during the early part of 1863, the crossing of the Mississippi at Bruinsburg, April 30, 1863, and the investment of Vicksburg and its surrender by General Pemberton, July 4, 1863, followed by the capitulation of Port Hudson, after a gallant and sanguinary defence, on July 8, 1863; and, lastly, General Banks' expedition up Red River, culminating in his defeat by General Dick Taylor, at Mansfield, April 8, 1864, and his retreat southward.

General Halleck, Commander-in-Chief of the Union Armies, wrote Major General Grant,[239] March 20, 1863, that in his opinion "the opening of the Mississippi River will be to us of more advantage than the capture of forty Richmonds," and this was accomplished by the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, and, in effect, broke the back of the Confederacy.

We shall not review Grant's operations to the north of us, but as an example of the ruthlessness and wanton destruction of the war, we think it not amiss to quote a few paragraphs from the very interesting Memoirs of General W. T. Sherman. He says:[240]

> "Our route lay by Richmond and Roundabout Bayou, (Louisiana); then following Bayou Vidal, we struck the Mississippi River at Perkins' Plantation. Thence the route followed Lake St. Joseph to a plantation called Hard Times, about five miles above Grand Gulf.
>
> The road was more or less occupied by wagons and detachments belonging to McPherson's Corps; still we marched rapidly and reached Hard Times on the 6th. of May. Along the Bayou or Lake St. Joseph were many fine cotton plantations, and I recall that of a Mr. Bowie, brother-in-law of Hon. Reverdy Johnson, of Baltimore.
>
> The house was very handsome, with a fine extensive

[239] *War of the Rebellion, Official Records of Union and Confederate Armies*, Series 1, Vol. 24, Part 1, (Vicksburg), Serial No. 36, p. 22. Cited hereafter as Off. Rec. U. & C. *Armies*.

[240] Sherman, Gen. W. T., *His Memoirs*, Vol. 1, p. 319.

grass plot in front. We entered the yard, and . . . walked to the house. On the front porch, I found a magnificent grand piano, with several satin-covered arm chairs, in one of which sat a Union soldier . . . . with his feet on the keys of the piano, and his musket and knapsack lying on the porch . . . . I started him in a hurry to overtake his command.

The house was tenantless, and had been completely ransacked; articles of dress and books were strewn about, and a handsome boudoir, with mirror front, had been cast down, striking a french bedstead, shivering the glass. The library was extensive, with a fine collection of books; and hanging on the wall were two full-length portraits of Reverdy Johnson and his wife—one of the most beautiful ladies of our Country—with whom I had been acquainted in Washington at the time of General Taylor's administration.

Behind the mansion was the usual row of double cabins, called the quarters. There I found an old negro, (a family servant) with several women, whom I sent to the house to put things in order; telling the old man that other troops would follow, and that he must stand on the porch to tell any officers who came along, that the property belonged to Mr. Bowie, who was a brother-in-law of our friend, Mr. Reverdy Johnson, of Baltimore, asking them to see that no further harm was done.

Soon after we left the house, I saw some negroes carrying away furniture which manifestly belonged to the house, and compelled them to carry it back; and after reaching camp that night at Hard Times, I sent a wagon to Bowie's plantation; to bring up to Dr. Hollingsworth's house the two portraits for safe-keeping; but before the wagon had reached Bowie's, the house was burned—whether by some of our men, or by negroes, I have never learned."

General James Tuttle, in a speech before the Hayes & Wheeler Club, at DesMoines, Iowa, according to its report in the Chicago Tribune,[241] complacently confesses to this burning and looting by the Union soldiers. General Tuttle is quoted as saying:

". . . . Another charge is that I am a house-burner. The news that I have left the Democratic Party, seems to have got away down in the old Rebel country, and some one down on the lower Mississippi writes to a St. Louis paper, wondering " 'if I am the General Tuttle whose troops, on the march from Milliken's Bend to Grand Gulf, burned so many fine houses on Lake St. Joseph, among them the

[241] Newspaper clipping in scrap-book loaned by late Allen Bowie, of Natchez. Date of paper not preserved. This mansion belonged to Doctor Allen T. Bowie.

finest residence in all the southern country, that of Col. Bowie, the inventor of the famous Bowie knife" '. I am the man; (much laughter and applause), the same General Tuttle who with his boys went along there.

Nearly all of the houses were burned before my command came up. The Bowie mansion was not. I was in it. It was the grandest house I ever saw or read about. The house and furnishing are said to have cost $500,000. The upholstering was grand beyond description. I found a number of Union soldiers in the house, belonging to Steele's Division, which was just ahead of mine. They were lounging around in their muddy boots, enjoying the luxuries. I sent them on to their Command and passed on with the head of my Division. My Command was probably five miles long, along the road. After about half of the Division had passed, and I was about two or three miles away, I looked back, attracted by an immense blaze, and the Bowie house was gone. I suppose it was burned by some of my boys; I do not doubt it. Some of my soldiers—of Iowa Regiments too—were just out of Rebel prisons; and this was their first march. They remembered well, and they probably knew something about it. Our orders were all against burning the houses. I suppose we could have prevented this burning too, if we had made it a specialty. (Laughter). But we had another specialty on hand just then. (Renewed laughter)."

Before the fall of Vicksburg and Port Hudson, in the Spring of 1863, there was some operation of Federal gun-boats on the Mississippi between these two points, and on the Black and up the Ouachita, the gun-boats having succeeded in running the Vicksburg batteries.

We find a report of Charles Rivers Ellett, in Command of the U. S. Steam Ram "Queen of the West," to Brig. Gen. Alfred W. Ellet, Commanding the Miss. River Marine Brigade, dated February 5, 1863, in which he says:[242] That they reached Natchez just at midnight; landed at Vidalia, threw out some pickets and went into the village in the hope of picking up some "Rebel" officers. That the people were surprised; and one Rebel, Col. Z. York, was halted but made such a rapid retreat that he escaped the shots fired at him; and that the boats kept on down the river.

[242] Off. Rec. U. & C. *Armies*, Series 1, Vol. 24, Part 1, Vicksburg, Serial No. 36, p. 337, 338.

First Union Bombardment of Fort Beauregard, May 10, 1863.

In May, 1863, Fort Beauregard, at Harrisonburg, was garrisoned by the Confederates, commanded by Lieut. Col. George M. Logan, and on the 10th of May, 1863, four Federal gun-boats, under command of Commodore Selim E. Woodruff, anchored at the Bushley, about a mile below the Fort. Officers were sent from the fleet, under a flag of truce, and demanded the immediate and unconditional surrender of the Fort. Captain Benton, speaking for the garrison, declined, saying that the Fort would be defended at all hazards, and that the women and children had been removed from the Town. Three of the gun-boats began shelling, firing some 150 shots, but did no appreciable damage to the Fort, and only one house in the Town was destroyed. Their fire was returned, but not very effectively, and Lieut. Carter, of the garrison, was seriously wounded. These gun-boats then withdrew, and did not renew the attack at that time, and we find no report of their operations on the Black.[243]

Movements of Harrison's Cavalry

On June 8, 1863, Selim E. Woodruff, Commanding U. S. S. General Sterling Price, reported[244] to Rear-Admiral David D. Porter that the Confederates were in considerable force on the west side of the Mississippi, down as far as Black Hawk Plantation; and that he had just been informed that Isaac F. Harrison's Cavalry, Thomas O. Benton's Battery, had reached Vidalia from Harrisonburg, where they were the month before, and were divided up into small parties along the river from the mouth of Red River to James' Plantation.

We might say that, in 1863 and 1864, the Confederate forces in this vicinity consisted mainly of Col. Harrison's Third Louisiana Cavalry, of which Bondurant's Company of Tensas Cavalry was quite a famous unit. But Confederate cavalry could accomplish little in the defense of the river towns, not being supported by artillery to cope with the naval guns.

Occupation of Natchez and Vidalia

Up to July, 1863, Vidalia had been a very important shipping and river crossing point for cattle, cotton and all sorts of sup-

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[243] *Ibid.*, p. 700, Rept. Col. Logan.

[244] *Official Record Union and Confederate Navies in War of Rebellion*, Series 1, Vol. 25, p. 63. Cited hereafter as Off. Rec. U. & C. *Navies*.

plies, originating further west, and needed for the maintenance of our Armies to the north and east. But on July 13th, the Federal forces occupied Natchez, which they held to the end of the war, and also Vidalia and other west bank points, which they garrisoned mainly with negro regiments.

From the report of Brigadier-General T. E. G. Ransom,[245] July16, 1863, we learn that his forces landed and occupied Natchez at 3 o'clock P. M. on the 13th; that some twenty Confederate soldiers were captured, and possession taken of the Post Office, Telegraph Office and Court House. The Mayor and Council were called in session, and the orders of occupancy and instructions as to the conduct to be pursued by the citizens were read to them. On the morning of the 14th, 200 mounted Infantry were sent scouting through Concordia, and captured a Lieutenant and rear-guard of Kirby Smith's Ordnance Train, some 15 miles out on the Trinity road, capturing and bringing in a large number of muskets, musket cartridges, and ammunition, and reporting that Kirby Smith was said to be fortifying at Trinity. This officer further reports that he was loading transports with 2,000 head of captured beef cattle for General Banks' Army. That he was disarming the citizens; and that the Natchez country abounded in fine horses and mules which would make desirable artillery horses for the batteries of the Army of the Tennessee. He also says: "I also desire instructions as to what policy I shall pursue with regard to the negroes. They flock in by thousands . . . I am feeding about 500, and working the able-bodied among them. I can send you," (Lieut. Col. W. T. Clark, Ass't. Adjutant-Gen. 7th. Army Corps), "any number encumbered with families. I cannot take care of them. What shall I do with them? They are all anxious to go—they do not know where, or what for . . . ."

Federal Naval Expedition Up Black River, July 12-16, 1863.

The second Federal naval expedition up Black River reached Trinity the evening of July 12, 1863, and consisted of the gunboats Forest Rose, Manitou, Petrel and Curlew, under command of Lieut. Thos. O. Selfridge. From his report,[246] dated at Trinity, July 15, and directed to Admiral Porter, Commanding the Mississippi Squadron, we learn: That intelligence of their approach to

[245] Off. Rec. U. & C. *Armies*, Series 1, Vol. 24, Part 2, Serial No. 37, pp. 680, 681, 682.
[246] Off. Rec. U. & C. *Navies*, Series 1, Vol. 25, pp. 264, 265.

Trinity was not known until a half hour before their arrival, but that it enabled two steamers, the Dr. Betty and the Nelson, to escape to the guns of Fort Beauregard. Captured a large quantity of ammunition just hauled from Natchez. Early next day, the Manitou and Rattler were sent up Little River and captured the fine Mississippi packet Steamer Louisville. The Forest Rose and the Petrel, sent up the Tensas, captured the Steamer Elmira. The Rattler then proceeded sixty miles up the Tensas to the head of navigation. Besides these captures, two other steamers were burned; a large amount of small-arm and artillery ammunition was taken and a gun-carriage and 30-pounder Parrott gun; ten puncheons of rum and nine barrels of flour; 50 barrels of salt and 12 hogsheads of sugar. A large saw mill at Trinity was burned, with 30,000 feet of lumber, "The people were completely panic-stricken. We found an immense quantity of cotton in gin-houses and on the banks, but the military are now burning it in every direction."

We supplement this report with an extract from the detailed "Log" of the U. S. S. Rattler:[247]

> "July 16—Black River La. At 5 A. M. hove up anchor and stood down Black River. At 9.15 A. M. made fast to bank at Plantation of Major Beard. Sent an armed party ashore and posted pickets around the house. Ordered him to remove all furniture, etc. from his dwelling, as we had direction from Lieut. Com. Selfridge to burn his house and gin, he having given information to the enemy of our approach up the river. At 3 P. M., set fire to the gin-house on Beard Plantation. At 3 P. M. the Conestoga, Forest Rose and Curlew arrived. Lieut. Com. Selfridge gave orders not to burn his house and not to carry away his negroes. At 4.15 P. M. cast off from shore and stood down the river."

Expedition of Union Troops Natchez to Harrisonburg, September 1—7th. 1863. and Evacuation of Fort Beauregard

On the morning of September 1, 1863, a Union force, consisting of: the 2nd. Brigade, 4th. Div., Col. C. Hall, of the 14th. Illinois, commanding; the 3rd. Brigade, 4th. Div., Gen. W. Q. Gresham, commanding; Company "F", 3rd. Illinois Artillery, and the 15th. Ohio Battery, with the 17th. Wisconsin, (mounted), com-

[247] *Ibid.*, pp. 270, 271.

manded by Col. Mallory, and all under the command of Brigadier-General M. M. Crocker, crossed the river here and moved on Trinity and Harrisonburg.

From General Crocker's report,[248] omitting details, we find that the advance guard under Col. Mallory crossed the Black, on the 2nd., on a small steamer, the Rinaldo, returning to the Concordia side and burning the boat, which handicapped the crossing of the Black. On the morning of the 3rd., General Gresham crossed a portion of his Regiment in flats, and took possession of Trinity. The balance of the troops, with the exception of two Regiments under Col. Hill, which were left on the Concordia side to guard the crossing, were crossed over on the 3rd., the troops only taking two days rations in haversacks, and only sufficient transportation to carry the ammunition, as it was found impossible to lay the pontoons. The day was entirely consumed in crossing, and the mounted infantry was ordered to encamp at the junction of the Alexandria and Trinity roads. On the morning of the 4th, General Gresham, with part of his regiment of mounted infantry and his brigade, started in the direction of Harrisonburg, but received reports from his scouts that the Confederates were approaching in large numbers from the direction of the Alexandria road, and the Brigade was halted and formed in line of battle, causing a delay of several hours. This information was evidently erroneous, as no engagement took place; and on the arrival of General Crocker, he ordered the whole Command to move on Harrisonburg, which was reached a little before noon on the 4th. He reports that the Fort and the Town had been evacuated that morning; and that the enemy before retiring, had burned all commissary stores, and that the fire was burning in all the casements and over the magazines, and a very large amount of ammunition had been destroyed. Eight guns had been left in the works, some of which the Yankees disabled; and two of the brass pieces were boated to Trinity. A large quantity of small arms was burned, and the Fort destroyed as much as possible. A quantity of ammunition stored in the jail and court house was destroyed; and some corn and provisions stored in the Town. A grist mill out on the Natchitoches road, and a quantity of commissary stores that had been removed from the Town was also destroyed; as well as 57 bales of cotton, marked "CSA". On the 5th, the whole command re-crossed the Black, and the Mississippi on the 7th. Twenty prisoners of war were taken.

[248] Off. Rec. U. & C. *Armies*, Series 1, Vol. 26, Part 1, Serial No. 41, pp. 273, 274, 275.

Col. George M. Logan reports[249] the evacuation of the Fort to Major Eustace Surget, Asst. Adjutant General, C. S. A., in a communication of September 5th, in which he says that the evacuation took place at 3 o'clock A. M. on the 4th; and that it was made necessary by the failure of Col. Horace Randall to reach him with expected reenforcements from Alexandria. He further reports that having only 40 effective men in the garrison, he was only able to save the wagons, horses and mules, and four of his best pieces of artillery, (three three-inch rifles and one 12-pound howitzer); and that all day on the 3rd. "our cavalry engaged the advance guard of the enemy on the Hawthorn road, with a view to checking his progress until the arrival of Col. Randall, advancing to our relief, but they were not successful."

Confederate Attack on Federal Forces at Vidalia, September 14th, 1863

Brigader General Crocker, U. S. A., reports[250] that on the morning of September 14, 1863, a force of Confederate cavalry —150 to 200 men, attacked the Union forces stationed at Vidalia, consisting of a regiment of negroes under Col. Farrar, armed with shotguns mostly, and a company of the 30th. Missouri Infantry and a Pontoon Company, under Captain Lochbeiler. The Confederates surprised the camp of the Pontoniers, and commenced cutting loose the mules, shooting the men and pillaging the tents. Col. Farrar rallied his forces against them; and General Gresham, commanding at Natchez, sent over as fast as possible the 95th. Illinois Infantry, the 1st. Kansas and the 17th. Wisconsin Mtd. Inf. and 11th. Illinois. The Confederates retreated, being pursued by the 1st Kansas and the 17th. Wisconsin, with occasional skirmishing to Cross Bayou, where they joined their reserve forces, retreating to, and crossing, Black River; and the Union forces were ordered to return, not being sufficiently strong to cope with them. In the melee at Vidalia, General Crocker reports that two of his Pontoniers were killed and two wounded and four were missing. Captain Lochbilher was severly wounded and his arm amputated. One of their men was killed in the pursuit, and the Confederate casualties were not known, further than one Lieutenant and several men were killed in the first attack; and nine of their horses and several prisoners were taken.

[249] *Ibid.*, p. 281.
[250] *Ibid.*, pp. 314, 315.

Guerillas, etc.

Under date of December 15, 1863, Rear-Admiral D. D. Porter reports[251] to Major General U. S. Grant, Commanding Military Division of the Mississippi, ". . . That the Guerillas are kicking up the mischief on the river, especially about Natchez and down about Red River. Dick Taylor has come in with 4,000 men, and 22 pieces of Artillery, and has planted them behind the levee to great advantage." The Admiral further says that little harm has been done to the Federal gun-boats, but that the transports get badly cut up, even when they are convoyed; that "Banks has left the country about Red River without any troops and the Rebels have it all their own way; and the Red River my be blocked again, if we don't look out . . . The Von Phul has just arrived with 40 shot-holes in her; Captain and Clerk killed; some of the light-clads are badly cut up, but held their own . . ."

Confederate Raid Ordered Against Union Forces at Vidalia

On February 1, 1864, Major General Dick Taylor, through the Adjutant General at Alexandria, directed[252] Brigadier General C. J. Polignac, then in command of the Confederate forces between the Red and the Mississippi, to make a raid on the Yankees at Vidalia; and to seize all horses and mules belonging to persons known to be disloyal; also to secure horses and mules from loyal persons who were within the enemy's lines or constantly exposed to enemy raids. In taking stock from loyal persons, however, in no instance should they be deprived of horses and mules necessary for making a crop of corn. No stock was to be impressed west of Cross Bayou, the impressment being confined to the neighborhood of Lake Concordia and the Mississippi.

Skirmish and Shelling at Vidalia By Gun-boats February 7th, 1864

A small Confederate force advanced on Vidalia, in pursuance of the order of February 1st, reaching Vidalia on the evening of February 7th, and in his report to Admiral Porter, of the next day, Lieut. Jas. A. Greer, commanding the 4th. District Mississippi Squadron, says:[253]

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[251] Off. Rec. U. & C. *Navies*, Series 1, Vol. 25, p. 636.

[252] Off. Rec. U. & C. *Armies*, Series 1, Vol. 34, Part 2, Serial No. 62, pp. 934, 935.

[253] Off. Rec. U. & C. *Navies*, Series 1, Vol. 25, p. 737.

> "The Rebels, about 2,000 strong, made their appearance back of Vidalia and attempted to advance upon our small force of troops there stationed. There was sharp skirmishing. The Rattler . . . Champion, Torrence, this vessel," (the Benton), "and the tug Fern, threw a number of shells, and with good effect. Our troops have been reenforced from the Natchez side, but we expect an attack in the morning." On the next day he reports that the "Rebs" had retreated.

There is also a report of this skirmish by H. A. McCaleb, Lieut. Col. Commanding the 2nd. Regt. Miss. Artillery, (negroes), in which he states[254] that he crossed the river with 423 men to reenforce Col. Farrar; and that his, McCaleb's, men were posted behind the levee and were afterwards ordered to march from 150 to 200 yards down the Trinity Road, where were posted several other Companies and Regiments, with artillery. McCaleb also stationed fifty of his men in the jail. From his account, one would judge that his Command performed wonderful feats, but we imagine that the gun-boats did the repulsing. There is no Confederate report on this engagement, and their number was probably over-estimated. In this connection, may we say that we have no preference for Union reports, but that there is a paucity of Confederate reports—we can give only what we find.

Confederate Attacks on Federal Forces at Waterproof

We will briefly recount the skirmishes at Waterproof, February 13th, to 15th, 1864, because they may be said almost to have taken place in Concordia, Waterproof being only a short distance above our Northern boundary. On February 13th, Lieut. Commander Greer of the Mississippi Squadron, reported[255] to Col. Johnson, Commanding the Union forces at Natchez, that about 800 of Harrison's Cavalry, commanded by Eli Bowman, with two pieces of light artillery, had attacked the negro troops there, commanded by Captain Anderson; and that, with the assistance of a gun-boat, they were driven off, leaving seven dead and four prisoners. Anderson lost five killed, six wounded and three or four missing. Greer says: "I am told the negroes did not fight very well"; and that he anticipates a renewal of the attack and that additional forces should be sent up.

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[254] Off. Rec. U. & C. *Armies*, Series 1, Vol. 34, Part 1, Serial No. 61, pp. 129, 130.

[255] Off. Rec. U. & C. *Navies*, Series 1, Vol. 25, p. 748.

From Greer's report[256] to Admiral Porter, of February 16th, we find that the Confederate attack on Waterproof was renewed on the 14th, but they were shelled by Captain Johnson of the Forest Rose, and driven off. On the morning of the 15th, he reports, the Confederates had been reenforced in the night, and consisted of two regiments of infantry, one of cavalry, and four pieces of artillery, under command of Col. Harrison, and again attacked, attempting to plant their battery upon the plank road. Other Union troops had, in the meantime, augmented the garrison. The Cavalry was effectively shelled and driven off by the Forest Rose. The Ram Switzerland arrived and joined in the fight. The Benton and the Ouachita were also ordered up; and the "Rebels" fell back about one o'clock after arrival of reenforcements from Natchez. Greer further says: "Captain Johnson says 'Captain Anderson asked repeatedly for me to take his troops on board, sir, and throw them across the river; this I declined and could only say to him to fight . . . After I got the enemy on retreat, he felt more easy . . . . I do not think he was intimidated, but by the bad discipline of his men, and the incapacity of his officers, they became panic-stricken.' "

In a final report of the 16th, Commander Greer says: The final attack upon Waterproof took place in a storm of wind about four P. M. yesterday afternoon. The Forest Rose again shelled them; and General Ellet, with two boats, arrived in the afternoon. The enemy retreated towards Harrisonburg, burning the bridge behind them. "The negro troops at Waterproof have been committing many outrages. I shall report it to General McArthur, under whose command these men are."

The General Ellet, referred to, was in command of the Marine Brigade—a renegade organization, neither soldiers nor sailors, whose chief notoriety was for loot and pillage. From reports,[257] and from descendants of John Routh, we learn that they stole from him a large quantity of very valuable silverware, and other valuables, besides valuable property belonging to others.

Action at Trinity and Harrisonburg March 1-4th, 1864

We give the report of Brigadier General C. J. Polignac,[258] dated March 3, 1864:

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[256] *Ibid.*, pp. 749, 750.

[257] Off. Rec. U. & C. *Navies*, Series 1, Vol. 25, pp. 696, 697, letter from John Routh to Rear Admiral Porter, giving facts and inventory stolen property; *Ibid.*, pp. 726 and 727, Brig. Gen. Ellett to Maj. Gen. McPherson.

[258] Off. Rec. U. & C. *Armies*, Series 1, Vol. 34, Part 1, Serial 61, pp. 155, 156.

". . . On the 1st. instant, one iron-clad and five other boats, (semi-gunboats and semi-transports) . . . . made their appearance off Beard's Point on Black River, where my lower picket is located and reached Trinity at 4:30 P. M. Having received intelligence of their approach, I notified Captain Devoe, of the Engineer Department . . . . in time for him to secrete the 32-pounders that had been taken to Trinity . . . . and which could not be used, as only one was mounted and there was no ammunition for them.

Captain W. H. Gillespie, with fifty Cavalry, engaged the enemy on the west bank of Black River all the way up to Trinity, the enemy responding with a brisk artillery fire. The six boats stopped in front of Trinity and shelled the place and its neighborhood. I had disposed my infantry force along the North bank of Little River, to protect, as best I could, the pontoon bridge, and also in order to detain the enemy, if possible, long enough for the Captain of the Ruby, (now getting lumber on Little River for the Engineer Corps) to be notified of their approach . . . . The boats, however, did not come up Little River, and Lieutenant O. Gaudet, in command of the only section of artillery that I had, opened up on them with two twelve-pound howitzers, which, of course, were unable to check their progress. This officer behaved very well . . . . his section stood the unequal contest with a great deal of coolness.

As soon as the gun-boats had run past Trinity, thus making apparent their intention of attacking Harrisonburg, I moved my infantry and artillery back to that place that same night, as I had to ferry the Bushly Bayou, a navigable stream, where the enemy could easily head me off. It had rained on the day previous, and the road had become almost impassable. Two caissons had to be left behind . . . . Captain John G. Randle, by some unaccountable mistake, took his cavalry up Little River, so that the duty of guarding the Town devolved upon Captain Gillespie alone. This young officer behaved throughout with coolness, energy and judgment, and I take great pleasure in commending him to the officers above me.

On the 2nd. instant, at 10 A. M., the same boats hove in sight of Harrisonburg. I had placed two infantry regiments on the bank of the Ouachita River, from the mouth of the Bushly up to the vicinity of the Town, and one section of Artillery, under Captain Faries, at a place where it could do the most effective firing. The other section of the battery could not participate in the fight for want of its caissons, and also because the horses were so badly used up by the night's march and the bad roads as to be altogether unfit for service. The enemy's boats were opened upon by our infantry and artillery at the same time.

From the nature of their build, the iron-clad were safe against my artillery, and the wooden boats were protected from the musketry by a plate of sheet iron between two thicknesses of wood on their sides. Having ascertained that there were no guns on the fort they moved slowly up, firing as they went, as well on the troops on the bank of the river as at the Town, in which several houses were riddled with shot, regardless of the lives of the women and children. One of the boats apparently somewhat damaged by the fire of the artillery, dropped back below the mouth of the Bushly, and the balance went up the Ouachita. They returned about an hour afterwards and threw some incendiary matter into the Town. . . . which caused that house and the neighboring ones to ignite instantly. Fortunately, I was able, with considerable exertion, to stop the conflagration, which had like to have swept over the whole place. After this, the boats ran down the river, and lay all night one mile above Trinity. This morning, they are shelling Trinity. I have not yet heard the particulars . . . . The enemy fired no less than 1,000 rounds from their larger guns . . . . The troops as a general rule behaved well. Col. Taylor and Lieut. Col. Stone, in command of the infantry, led their regiments in a manner creditable to themselves. The fire from the boats was very heavy on the banks of the river. Both of my Aides, Capt. S. Cuculler and Lieut. W. Eggeling, whose coolness I feel it my duty to report, lost their horses killed while they were in discharge of their duty. The casualties are 3 killed and 13 wounded, three mortally. The enemy had troops on board of their boats, firing through loop-holes. As they kept themselves constantly hid, their number could not be ascertained. One of their boats was a very large one which could carry 800 men, but I believe their force was not as large. I regret that I did not achieve more, but, with the means at my disposal, to fight was about all that I could do."

From the report of Lieut. Commander F. M. Ramsey to Admiral Porter, March 5,[259] we find that the Federal boats on this expedition were: the Fort Hindman, Osage, Cricket, Ouachita, Lexington and Conestoga; that the Hindman was badly disabled, and eight men on her were wounded, one since dead; one man killed on the Ouachita and two wounded; one man severely wounded on the Osage and one man on the Choctaw. The boats did not proceed to Monroe on account of falling river.

[259] Off. Rec. U. & C. *Navies*, Series 1, Vol. 25, pp. 787, 788, 789.

Confederate Expedition in Concordia, June, 1864.

In a report [260] dated June 21, 1864, J. G. Walker, Major General, Commanding, reports to General Boggs, Chief of Staff, that Major J. L. Robinson and a squadron of Cavalry had just returned from Concordia, where he had been engaged in breaking up the plantations of Federal lessees, and destroying forage and subsistence being collected and shipped to the enemy at Morganza. He reports the burning of several large depots of corn, and all the gins and mills in use of the Yankees, and the capturing of a number of horses and mules, extending his operations to within four miles of Vidalia. He was pursued by a regiment of the enemy's cavalry, but succeeded, after some skirmishing, in crossing Black River in safety.

There was little blood spilled on the soil of Concordia, or on that of her immediate neighbors, but who would wish otherwise? God knows, there was enough of it spilled elsewhere!

[260] Off. Rec. U. & C. *Armies*, Series 1, Vol. 34, Part 4, Serial No. 64, p. 688.

(To be continued)

JOHN McDONOGH—SLAVE OWNER

By Lane Carter Kendall
New Orleans, La.

PART II

(Continued from October, 1932, Quarterly)

With the typical thoroughness of the man, McDonogh went over the lists of his slaves, and carefully estimated their individual value. Then, one Sunday afternoon, in the little chapel which he had erected in the midst of his plantation, he explained the plan to the assembled leaders of the negroes. He gave them a week in which to think the matter over, and to discuss it among themselves. But let us read McDonogh's own explanation of what the idea was, and how his plan was received:*

> "One half of Saturday being already your own, (in consequence of my agreement with you that no labor should be done on the Sabbath day,) your first object will be to gain a sufficient sum of money to purchase the other half of Saturday, which is the one-eleventh part of the time you have to labor for your master, and in consequence the one-eleventh part of the value your master has put upon you, and which you have to pay him for your freedom. This, I notify you, will be the most difficult part of your undertaking, and will take the longest time to accomplish, and is to be effected by laboring for me on Saturday afternoons, and leaving the amount of the labor in my hands to be husbanded up for you. By foregoing everything yourselves, and drawing as little money as possible out of my hands, I calculate you will be able to accomplish it in about seven years. That once accomplished, and one whole day of the six your own, you will go on more easily, and rapidly; indeed, that once effected, your success is certain. You will be enabled easily by your earnings on one entire day in each week to effect the purchase of another day of your time in about four years. Now

* The following extracts and other quotations in this paper are taken from a letter of John McDonogh to the *New Orleans Commercial Bulletin*, dated July 10, 1842, and printed in the parts here quoted in the *Life and Work of John McDonogh*, by William Allen, L. L. D., principal of the McDonogh School and sketch of the McDonogh School by John Johnson, Jr., published by the Trustees, Baltimore, Press of Isaac Friedenwald, 103 West Fayette Street (no publication date, but the Preface is dated McDonogh, February, 1886).

master and owner of two days in each week, you will be able in two years more to purchase another day; so that three days or the one-half of your time, will be your own; in one and a half years more you will be able to purchase another day, making four days your own; in a year more, another or the fifth day, and in six months, the last day, or the whole of your time, will be your own. Your gains in less than another year will suffice to free, (added to what the youths will have gained in the meantime,) your children and all will be accomplished. In the foregoing estimate, I calculate that you will draw from me occasionally some small sums of money to furnish little necessaries you may need; but you will remember, when one draws, the whole of you must draw at the same time; the men, an equal sum each; the women, the three-fourths part each of the sums drawn by the men. You shall be estimated at fair and reasonable prices—say the men at $600 each, the women at $450, and the boys, girls, and children in proportion. An account shall be opened at once on my books and your valuations charged, without taking into account the increased valuation of the youths and children as they advance in age, and no child to be charged that shall be born after the commencement of this agreement. This to be in some measure a counterbalance to an interest account, as none will be calculated or allowed you on account of your gains in my hands. Such men and women as have no children of their own, when they have worked out their prices, shall be held and obligated to assist in paying for the children of the others, so that the whole company shall go on the same day on board ship and sail for your fatherland. I expect and shall insist on the strict performance of your moral and religious duties in every respect . . . . Should any of you commit crimes at any time whilst serving under this agreement, he or she shall immediately be put up at public sale (their offenses declared and made known) and sold; and whatever money they had earned under this agreement shall go to the benefit of the others in general."

He continues further:

"Their surprise and astonishment at such a proposal . . . . may be easily conceived; they gave their consent with tears of joy, declared the confidence they entertained of my truth, honesty, and pure intentions to do them and their children good, and their willingness . . . . to be guided in all things by me . . . . On separating I told them to communicate my plans and proposal to their adult fellow-servants, male and female, and to say to them that none were bound or forced to come into the arrangement who

had any objection to it; . . . that such as did not wish to accept of it should go on under the same old regulations .... and I requested one and all of them to consult together through the week and to give me their final answer .... on the next Sabbath in church; .... charging them as they valued my affection to keep what I had said to them (desirous as I was to avoid making the slaves of other plantations unhappy and discontented) in their own bosoms, and never to disclose it, until after they should have left the country for Africa, to a living being on earth .... On the next Sabbath day I met them in church, and was told that they had informed all their fellow servants of my views and intentions towards them; .... that they had well reflected during the past week on all that I had said to them; that they were at a loss for words to express their love and gratitude for me for what I had done and was now desirous of doing for them and their children, and that they had always looked on me in the light of a father, deeply interested in their welfare; that I was the only true friend they had on earth; .... that they accepted one and all the proposals I had made them."

McDonogh did not take any credit to himself for this proposal. He was no abolitionist. He was truly interested in the welfare of the African race in America, but he had no patience with those who advocated the social and political equality of the negro and the white. His clear Scottish mind was too logical and well informed not to understand the perils of this doctrine which was, even in his day, being preached by the New England agitators who eventually caused the Civil War. He approved of the American Colonization Society, and indeed was one of the founders and ardent supporters of that organization. We would misunderstand the man altogether to credit him with a visionary philanthropy which it does not seem that he ever entertained.

On the contrary, his scheme for the liberation of his slaves was a complex device in which benevolence and good business were combined in a manner distinctively his own. He wished to help his colored dependents, but he saw no reason why he should not turn a pretty penny by the transaction. According to his own admission, his scheme was intended to work out so that he would be able to go up into the slave dealing markets and purchase two slaves for the price that each of his own black chattles paid him for liberation. Nor were the terms as finally determined upon between him and the beneficiaries of his policy more generous than we would expect from one of his acqusitive disposition. He

admitted that he would make no concessions to the blacks during the period when they were earning their freedom. The desired boon could be won only by extra work over a long series of years. It was to be the prize of diligence, and, incidentally, McDonogh would profit by their labors.

Moreover, McDonogh was opposed to setting the blacks free to remain in Louisiana. The laws of the state dealing with free negroes were not liberal. Free men of color (mulattos) there were in plenty, and their condition was not so bad, but the legal status of a manumitted black man was probably on the whole much less desirable than that of a black slave. McDonogh was far too shrewd not to see that to turn loose upon the community fifty or a hundred black freedmen would be detrimental to everybody concerned.

Let us remark, parenthetically, that the slave-owners of Louisiana, if not of the South, lived in constant apprehension of a mutiny of their servitors. This fear may have abated as the century advanced, but it was acute in New Orleans in the earlier decades of the period. There were instances, as we know from the story of Madame Lalaurie and the murder of her mother in a slave insurrection in 1834, when there seemed every reason for apprehending an uprising of the slave population. It is not remarkable, therefore, that the liberation of slaves was not favored by the public, nor could the free negro rely upon receiving from the whites any real assistance in the struggle for life. McDonogh had made a careful study of the negro and his racial characteristics. He worked out a sort of addendum to his emancipation proclamation, by ordaining that as many of his slaves as might work out their purchase price should go to Liberia, where they would be given land and such financial assistance as they might require over a period long enough to establish a colony of their own. This resolution links together all the various phases of his policy towards his slaves, and makes us perceive that his cooperation in the American Colonization Society, above mentioned, was merely the initial step in a carefully elaborated scheme, of which the final steps have now to be described.

As a result of McDonogh's offer, the slaves expressed themselves as quite willing to accept the proposal, especially since they were guaranteed their trip to Africa. He carefully explained that he was not a philanthropist, nor was he giving anything to the slaves:

"My object is your freedom and happiness in Liberia, without loss or cost of a cent to myself from sending you away, and conferring that boon (as the humble instrument of the Most High) on you and on your children . . . . There is but one way, one mode to effect it, ... and that is by greater assiduity and exertions in the slave to his labor during the usual hours of day labor, and especially by extra hours of labor before day in the morning and after night in the evening. One hour after night in the evening and one hour before day in the morning would be two hours extra every twenty-four hours, and would be the one-sixth part more of time devoted to labor than is generally demanded of the slave, which is the equivalent of two years and a half of additional labor in fifteen years . . . . In the mode which I propose, your master will not make you a present of any hour of your time, and you will in reality have gained and placed in his hands previous to going out free, a sum of money arising from your extra labor fully sufficient to enable him to purchase an equal number of people with yourselves, to take your place in the work of his farm, so that his work and revenue shall not be stopped for an hour; and to fit you out with all things necessary in your new life and undertaking . . . .

"On my part you may depend on my prudence not to involve myself by speculation or otherwise (with the Divine Blessing) so as to put it out of my power to carry out the agreement; and I will take care by keeping regular accounts of all your gains, and by instruction to my executors (in case of death) to have our agreement truly and fully executed, and justice rendered you."

Let us continue to follow McDonogh's letter, in which he describes the results of his plan:

"In less than six years the first half day was gained and paid for by them. In about four years the next or second day of the week was paid for and their own. In about two and a quarter years, the third day was paid for. In about fifteen months the fourth day was theirs. In about a year the next or fifth day was gained; and in about six months the last or sixth day of the week became their own and completed the purchase, affecting their freedom in about fourteen and a half years. After this it took about five months' labor to pay the balance due on their children. Any discrepancy in the period in which they effected the purchase of the different days is to be accounted for in their drawing more money at one period than at another, as they frequently did

towards the last. Their freedom was effected in August, 1840, at which time they would have taken their departure for Liberia; but as the Abolitionists of the Northern and Eastern States of our Union had occasioned much excitement in our State, not only among the owners of slaves but among the slaves themselves, I did not consider it safe, or myself at liberty; . . . . as there was a considerable black population in the immediate neighborhood of the residence of my black people, to send them away. I therefore told them, without giving them the cause, that they must be satisfied to remain where they were until the proper time for their departure should arrive, with which they remained satisfied. So they effected their freedom . . . . in about fourteen years and a half; and the assertion I made in your Gazette of the 24th of June last, that 'the act of sending these people away is in my case one of simple honesty alone', is explained in my having received in money from them (or the full equivalent of money) the full price agreed on between us for their freedom in Liberia."

Some there are who doubtless will criticize McDonogh for not giving the slaves their freedom outright after fifteen years' service. If he were going to lose their service anyway, why did he not permit himself to become a real and unconditional emancipator. Let him speak for himself:

> "Without hope, a certain something in the future for him to look forward and aspire to, man would be nothing. Deprive him of that inspiriting faculty of soul, and he would grovel in the dust as the brute. But say they, why not promise him at once freedom after fifteen years' service? To this I have many and strong objections. In that mode his freedom would appear the gift of his master, who might repent and retract his promise. In the other mode the slave would have gained it—have purchased and paid his master for it. Hope would be kept alive in his bosom; he would have a goal in view continually urging him on to faithfulness, fidelity, truth, industry, economy, and every virtue and good work."

It is of considerable interest to know that this plan actually worked out just as McDonogh expected it to do. He made money out of it. The slaves really did more than their share of the work. Mr. E. D. Parker, at one time a wealthy and prominent citizen of New Orleans, was so impressed with the industry and constancy of McDonogh's slaves that he attempted to purchase a negro foreman, Jim Thornton. Parker was ignorant of McDonogh's

agreement with the slaves; for, as we have seen the project was not disclosed to any one but those immediately concerned, and these people were bound to secrecy under penalty of loss of its benefits. Parker finally offered $5,000 for Jim, because, as he said:

> "Why, Sir, I am an early riser, getting up before day; I am awakened every morning of my life by the noise of their trowels at work and their singing and noise before day; and they work as long as they can see to lay brick, and then carry up brick and mortar for an hour or two afterwards, to be ahead at their work the next morning. And again, sir, do you think that they walk at their work? No, sir, they run all day. I never saw such people as those, sir; I do not know what to make of them. Was there a white man over them with whip in hand all day, why then I could understand the cause of their incessant labor; but I cannot comprehend it, sir. Great man, sir, that Jim,—great man, sir. I should like to own him."

McDonogh laughed heartily, but refused to divulge the secret of his slaves industry. Jim was his foreman for a long time. McDonogh declares that for more than twenty years he did not have a white man as an overseer. His slaves were always under the direction of a fellow-slave, who was their representative and spokesman. So competent were these agents that only very rarely did the master have to revise the results. But McDonogh kept a daily check on the product of his plantations. Every night the overseers reported to him what had transpired during the day, and received at that time full instructions for the day following.

So great was the confidence which McDonogh placed in his slaves that he never had any white help, even in handling his clerical affairs. They transacted all his business, made purchases of materials, collected rents, leased the various houses, which the master owned, took care of his property and various effects, all with an honesty and fidelity, according to his own statement, that was proof against every temptation.

During the period of manmission, the slaves were carefully instructed in every trade which would, in McDonogh's opinion, benefit them after they had gained their freedom. He provided a school for the children, over which was placed a teacher, who lived in his house. In order to insure competent professional service for the negroes after they went to Africa, he selected two boys from among his slaves, with the design of having

them thoroughly educated, one as healer of physical ills, and the other as a healer of spiritual maladies. The two young men, who were as "black as Africa", to quote McDonogh, were sent to Lafayette College in Easton, Pennsylvania, where they were provided with special tutors, and completed their courses in medicine and theology parallel to those followed by the regular students of the college.

These boys were named David and Washington McDonogh. Washington remained in the school for three years, and in 1842 left Philadelphia for Liberia. He was a teacher and missionary, and came to be one of the most useful and beloved members of the colony. David, who is reputed to have been much the cleverer of the two, remained at the college for six years, and completed the entire course. He then proceeded to New York, where he completed his medical studies. We do not know the future career of this man, but it is certain that he did not go to Liberia. There are some stories, apparently well founded, to the effect that he became a hack driver in the metropolis, and ended his life there. As far as he was concerned, McDonogh's generosity was ill-placed.

Finally, the time came for most of the negroes to leave America to return to Liberia. It was impossible to obtain all the needed accommodations in New Orleans, so McDonogh enlisted the friendly patronage and care of the American Colonization Society, of which he was at this time one of the vice-presidents. Accordingly, on March 21, 1842, the secretary of the American Colonization Society notified the governor of Liberia, J. J. Roberts, to prepare for the reception of the New Orleans colonists, and that "nothing be neglected in order to secure the health, safety, and property of this most interesting and valuable body of immigrants." A ship was dispatched to New Orleans, to carry the negroes to Liberia. Each family was allotted 60 to 100 acres of land in that place, and on their arrival, they were advanced sufficient provisions to last for six months, which was figured as the length of time necessary for acclimatization.

The departure of the slaves represented the loss of old friends to McDonogh. He closes his letter to the newspaper, in which he explained his actions, with this paragraph:

> "The scene (at taking leave of them) I will not attempt to describe. It can never be erased from my memory. Though standing in need of consolation myself (in bidding

a last farewell on earth to those who had so many claims on my affection, and who had been round and about me for such a long series of years), I had to administer it to them who stood in greater need of it, and tell them that the separation was but for a brief period of time, and that we should meet again, I trusted, in a better and happier state .... On Saturday morning, the Rev. Mr. McLain, the agent of the American Colonization Society, crossed the river to dispatch the ship and see them take their departure. After seeing them off, Mr. McLain came into my house for breakfast, and on seeing him much affected in his manner, I inquired if anything had happened to give him pain; to which he replied: 'Oh, sir, it was an affecting sight to see them depart. They were all on the deck of the ship, and your servants who have not gone were on the shore bidding them farewell, when from every tongue on board the ship I heard the charge to those on shore: 'Fanny, take care of our master; James, take care of our master; take care of our master, as you love us, and hope to meet us in heaven—take care of our beloved master.' These ejaculations continued until they were out of hearing.' "

Liberia may not be today everything which John McDonogh or the American Colonization Society anticipated, but at least the experiment undertaken by them so long ago was successful insofar as the slaves actually exported thither were concerned. During the remainder of his life, the old man frequently received letters from the recipients of his benevolence. The ex-slaves declared that they might desire to return to Louisiana in order to see McDonogh again, but otherwise they preferred not to leave their adopted country, which they regarded as the nearest approach to heaven possible to attain in this life. McDonogh has left on record the fact that "they would not change Africa for any country on earth."

Eccentric, self-contained, secretive, honest, hard-working, stern, grasping, and relentless, John McDonogh was hated by New Orleans, where he was regarded as a miser, and where his innumerable lawsuits inexorably pushed against his debtors were considered indications of his heartless and greedy disposition. It cannot be denied that in more than one way McDonogh showed himself in his relations with his fellow citizens the kind of man which the contemporary newspapers represented him to be. But when we see the old man amidst his slaves, in the daily contact with the humble friends who tilled his fields and cared for his

simple household, he presents an entirely different aspect. Even there he was, perhaps, not affusive in manner or prodigal of favors. But he was just and he was kind. The slaves loved and revered him. It is by studying this phase of his life that we come to understand better the singularities of his curious temperament. His servants owed him nothing; they were completely dependent on his caprice; and for that reason he was gentle and compassionate, forethoughtful and provident with them, at the very moment when he fought most acrimoniously against those who were his equals, or thought themselves to be his superiors.

RECORDS OF THE SUPERIOR COUNCIL OF LOUISIANA
LVI.

June-July, 1746.
(Continued from October, 1932.)

By HELOISE H. CRUZAT.
Marginal Notes by Henry P. Dart.

Memorandum by Editor of the Quarterly

The hereinafter named officials participated in the Sessions and/or took part in the work of the Superior Council of Louisiana during the period covered by this installment of the Index, viz:

Le Normant, Sebastian Francois Ange, First Judge and Commissaire Ordonnateur
Henry, Nicolas, Notary and clerk (Greffier)
Fleuriau, Francois, Procureur General
Chantalou, Augustin, Sheriff
Lenormand, Marin, Deputy Sheriff
Raguet, Jean Baptiste, Councillor
Prat, Jean, Councillor
Le Bretton, Louis Cesaire, Councillor
de Benac, Etienne, Town Major
Barbin, Francois Godefroy, Attorney for Vacant Estates
Jahan, Francois, witness
Potin, Bernard Louis, Notary at Pointe Coupee
Broutin, Francisco Ignace, Notary

June 2, 1746.
5 pp.

Jean Baptiste Bancio Piemont, agent for Sieur Bourgine and his creditors sues La Brosse for: (1) 80,620 livres in colonial money at the valuation of 12 livres 6 sols to the piastres; (2) 10,397 livres and the profits made in the use of the money and merchandise of said Bourgine. This is the sequel of the proceedings taken by the plaintiff in April, 1746. See La. Hist. Qy., 15, p. 525.

Petition to Superior Council by Jean Baptiste Bancio Piemont, acting under procuration of Sr. Bourgine and his creditors for recovery of funds in this Colony held by Mr. La Brosse and others, stating that the decree of Council rendered last April ordered him to render account within fifteen days, Firstly receipts amounting to 35770 livres, 16 sols in specie, collections to 5344 livres, 6 sols; sales of merchandise to the "double sums of 41115 livres" which is reduced in Colonial money to that of 102787 livres, 15 sols, "which has been consumed by the expense account" which he figures out at 91858 livres, 18 sols, "which is revolting to justice and equity and Sr. La Brosse clearly show that he has appropriated the funds intrusted to him." Wherefore petitioner prays that

La Brosse be sentenced to pay him the sum of 80620 livres in Colonial money, at the valuation of 12 livres, 6 sols, to the piastre following proceedings remitted to Mr. Raguet.

Secondly—The sum of 10397 livres, and the profit made on merchandise owned by Sieurs Bourgine and Blavon; Thirdly—From capital and profits the sum of 2012 livres in money of France, which Sr. Bourgine intrusted to him when he left for France; Fourthly—The profit he made on merchandise of Sr. Herault; Fifthly—Profits made on lots bought by him with funds of Mr. Bourgine; Sixthly—He is to remit a statement of the prices of the acquisitions made in this country, from funds of Mr. Bourgine, and not of extraordinary expenses that he chose to make for his own satisfaction; Seventhly—That he will produce his books, sworn to, in order to verify his accounts of sale and receipts and that he be compelled to pay differences established by all reasonable means, that he be cited "par corps" and sentenced to pay costs, damages and interest.

Signed: J. Bancio Piemont.

Order of citation signed on same date by Raguet.

June 2, 1746. Notice of citation served on Sr. La Brosse at his domicile by Sheriff Lenormand.

June 3.
27369. fo. 30.
4189. 1½ pp.

Cancellation by consent of a building contract for defective performance of same.

Cancellation of a contract passed at Pointe Coupée between Jean Guillot, called La Roze and Mr. Trenaunay de Chanfret, under private seal, on account of defects in the brickwork of the kitchen.

Signed: Mark X of Jean Guillot dit La Rose. Meuillion. allain. Last signature seems to be Ternon temoin. (probably Ternan)

Document stained and ragged margins.

June 4. 1½ pp.
See: May 17/46.

Pierre Ferrant vs. Nicholas Judice.
To compel defendant to pay 1000 livres to the Hospital of the Poor in New Orleans in reparation for the assault on plaintiff by defendant.

Petition to Superior Council by Pierre Ferrant for citation of Nicolas Judice on report of Surgeon Major to compel him to pay for the Hospital of the Poor the sum of 1000 livres, in reparation of the assault on person of said Ferrant, and to forbid his repeating the offense or to enter residence of petitioner under such penalty as the Council deems just and to defray all costs resulting from said attack.

Signed: p. ferrant.

June 4, 1746. Fleuriau, Procureur General for the King requests that justice be done, after inquiry.

See the beginning of this suit May 17-18, 1746, and the further proceedings June 4, No. 4 and June 26.

June 4. No. 1074. 2¼ pp.

Session of the Council of June 4th, 1746, where were present: MM. Le Normant, First Councillor; de Benac, Major; Raguet, Prat and Le Breton, Councillors.

Decisions of the Superior Council.

Judgments rendered in following cases:

Prevost, agent of Geoffroy vs. Gallot, et al. For plaintiff.

1. Between Sr. Prevost, under procuration of Sr. Geoffroy, plaintiff, vs. Sieurs Gallot, Blanpin and Vincent, defendants: Considering judgment in default rendered on the seventh of last May, Council orders Sr. Gallot to pay the sum of 935 piastres carried on his note, Blanpin to pay 100 piastres and Vincent that of 139 piastres as his note demands.

Judice vs. Fabry. Order to to cite Blanpin.

2. Between Sr. Nicolas Judice, plaintiff, vs. Sr. Fabry, defendant: Blanpin cited. Costs pending.

Piemont, agent of Bourgine vs. LaBrosse.

3. Between Sr. Piemont acting under procuration of Sr. Bourgine and creditors, plaintiff, vs. Sr. Galois de la Brosse, defendant.

Judgment for plaintiff for certain sums and for further answer by defendant. It would appear that the judgment was rendered on the face of the written accounts rendered by defendant, following the rule of evidence of this period that a written acknowledgment or any other written evidence authorized judgment in favor of the holder thereof.

Council orders defendant to remit to plaintiff all effects owned by Bourgine and to furnish statement to plaintiff of his journal and accounts, within eight days and condemns defendant to pay plaintiff the sum of 5837 livres, 9 sols, 3 deniers, in specie due as remainder on the account produced; also orders defendant to render account to plaintiff of the sums of 10397 livres, 3 deniers, for bales of Sr. Blavon and Bourgine and Sr. Bougine, the elder son; of 3112 livres, 14 sols, advanced to said La Brosse by Sr. Bourgine in France and on which he must account for one half of the profit; defendant to answer on all claims mentioned in the petition. Costs pending.

Judice vs. Ferrant. Council orders an inquiry into the affair.

4. In case of Sr. Nicolas Judice, plaintiff and defendant, vs. Sr. Pierre Ferrant, defendant and plaintiff: Council has converted information into investigation and on demand of Judice has ordered inquiry before Sr. Raguet. Cost pending.

Signed: Lenormant.

2 pp. N. P.

May 17, 1746. Pinned to previous decision: (No. 4 above).

Investigation before Councillor Jean Prat on the case of Ferrant vs. Judice.

Certificate of Surgeon Gueydan on condition of Pierre Ferrant after caning inflicted on him by Sr. Nicolas Judice, his order for a special regimen, declares that he bled him and that the diet prescribed must be kept up until complete cure.

June 6.
No. 1048. 9 pp.
Testimony of witnesses in the above case.

June 26, 1746. Inquiry made before Mr. Jean Prat, Councillor in the Superior Council, on request of Sr. Honore Raffard, concerning assault of Nicolas Judice on Pierre Ferrant, when he attempted to arrest his slave for theft.

Testimony of Sr. Hervier. Signed: Hervier.

Testimony of Pierre Nouguez. Signed: Miguel Math.... Nouguez. Prat.

Testimony of Paul Rasteau, merchant of this City, aged about thirty years, of the Protestant religion, etc.

Signed: P. Rasteau. Prat.

Testimony of Francois Martines of the Bishopric of Bourg.... Castille, etc. Abbreviated signature of Martinez in Sp. Franco Anto Maxnz. Nouguez. Prat.

Testimony of Francois Honere, pilot. Document signed at end of nine pages: Nouguez. Juan Franco Hernande. Prat.

June 6.
27371. fo. 30.
4190. 4 pp.
Succession of Jean Labbe. Settlement between his widow and their children.

Transaction between Christine Allard, Widow Labbé, as mother and tutrix of the minor children of deceased Jean Labbé, with Sr. Delille Dupart their under (Subrogé) tutor on one side, Jean Labbé, eldest son of deceased Jean Labbé, married and established at the German Coast, and Guillaume Vincent Dupré, navigator, also present, married to Charlotte Labbé, on the other side, who are all anxious to remain on good terms and to avoid litigation. They acknowledge having received from their stepmother and mother, in advance of dowry and inheritance the sum of 3000 livres by appraisement and valuation on which they have agreed, with which division they are satisfied.

Signed: la veuve labbé. guillaume vincent. Jean labbe. Charlotte vencant. Julie Labbee. jahan. Dlle Dupart. Chantalou. Henry, notary.

Document stained, one line erased and six words added above signatures.

27373. 7½ pp.
Detailed account of Labbe Estate rendered by his widow.

Account Rendered of succession of deceased Jean Labbé, by his widow Christine Allard, tutrix and mother of children, born of her marriage to said Jean Labbé, to-wit:

Dame Jeanne Labbé, wife of Mr. Ducoder, officer of Marine troops; Charlotte Labbé, wife of Guillaume Dupré; Jean Labbé, eldest son, and Baptiste Labbé, minor child, assisted by Sr. Delisle Dupart, his under tutor (subrogé).

	Livres	
Account of receipts, total	466	
Receipt for real estate	2000	
Receipt for slaves	6450	
Receipt for cattle	1500	
Receipt for grains and provisions	440	
Amount of Recapitulation	10856	(sic)

27391.

	Livres
First Chapter of Expense, total	159.10
Second Chapter of Expense, Costs of Court	132.10
Third Chapter of Expense, for mourning	500.10
Fourth Chapter: Passive debts	4129. 5.
Recapitulation of Expense	4921. 5.

RESULTS:

Receipt amounts to	10856.
Expense amounts to	4921. 5S.
Balance	5934.15

Total account rendered: 2967 L. 7 S. 6 d. 2967 L. 7 S. 6 d.

Heirs	L.	S.	d.	
To Sr. Ducoder	741	16	10	
To Sr. Vincent	741	16	10	
To Jean Labbe	741	16	10	
To Batiste Labbe	741	16	10	
Total				2967 L. 7 S. 6 d.
				5934 L. 15 S.

Signed: laveuve labbé. Dlle Dupart.

Sr. Jean Labbé notified in New Orleans at his domicile at residence of the Procureur General on request of Widow Labbé. Signed: Lenormand.

Notified May 31, 1746. Signed: Guillaume Vincent.

June 9.
27397.
Listed SSS.
4191. 1½ pp.

Auction sale. Negress of the Succession of Durantay for 1435 livres.

Succession of Durantay Nicolas Godefroy Barbin, "Procureur General of Vacant Estates" charged with succession of deceased Durantay, reports that by virtue of the decree of June 2, ordering sale on this date a negress, owned by said Durantay, the aforesaid negress, named Maria Jeanne was finally adjudicated in the presence of the creditors after compliance with all formalities prescribed, in her present condition, without any guarantee to Sr. St. Laurent for the sum of 1435 livres, which sum was remitted to Sr. Barbin.

Signed: Laurent Lerable. fleuriau. Barbin. Raguet.

Document charred, stained and torn.

June 10. 2 pp.

See 5-2-46; 5-10-46; 5-30-46; 6-11-46; 6-11-1075; 6-13-46.

D'Erneville asks for dismissal of Dubreuil's suit for death of the slave Mercure or Mingo.

Petition to Superior Council by the Chevalier D'Erneville to be discharged from suit entered against him by Sieur Dubreuil for negro Mercure or Mingo, owned by succession of Mr. Diron, as he died in the King's service and not in that of said D'Erneville.

June 10. Order for parties to appear before Superior Council at its next session, Saturday, June 11, of the present year. Signed: Lenormant.

June 10. Notice to appear before Council served on D'Erneville by Sheriff Lenormand. (Extra session called).

Document stained, and torn.

June 11.
27401. fo. 30.
4193. 3 pp.

Agreement to exchange slaves.

Exchange of Slaves, Sr. Blanpin agrees to turn over to Sr. Gilbert Cacadier, called Dusigne, a negro, piece d'Inde, called Bourbon, next October until which time said Blanpin will be security for the aforesaid slave not being an epileptic; in exchange Sr. Dusigne gives him a negress called Manon with her child, said Manon acquired from Sr. La Branche, who had her by adjudication from sale of slaves of Dartagnan concession, Sr. Blanpin obligating himself to pay Dusigne the sum of 300 piastres, of five livres to the piastre, furnishing mortgage security for said payment. The negro is appraised at 400 piastres and in default of delivery Blanpin promises to reimburse Dusigne the sum of 700 piastres.

Signed: blanpain. Cacadier dusigne.

December 20, 1746. Acknowledgment by Gilbert Cacadier, called Dusigne, that he has received from Blainpain the aforesaid negro named Bourbon and 300 piastres, which discharges both from their obligation to each other.

Signed: Cacadier dusigne. blanpain.

Document badly stained, charred and perforated.

June 11.
27399. 4192.
1¼ pp.

A wife's consent to the sale of house and lot in Mobile.

Wife's Consent for sale of a lot in Mobile and improvements thereon, names of vendors in blank, Chantalou and Pierre Songy named as witness and signature of "Henry, notary."

June 11.
2½ pp.

See 5-2-46; 5-10-46; 5-30-46; 6-10-46; 6-13-46.

Excerpt from Registers of Superior Council. Judgments in following cases:

Mr. Dubreuil, plaintiff, vs. Chantalou, acting for Mr. Lambert, husband of

Dubreuil vs. Diron. Judgment against plaintiff condemning him to pay value of Mingo, the slave.

Fèlicité Rivière, widow of Sr. Bernard Diron: Dubruil sentenced to pay for negro Mingo, slave owned by succession of Bernard Diron, who died from injury done him in the King's service.

Document charred and going to pieces.

June 11.
No. 1075. 1 p.

D'Erneville condemned to pay Dubreuil the value of Mingo.

Extraordinary Session.

Judgment between Sr. Dubreuil, plaintiff and defendant, vs. Mr. Derneville, plaintiff and defendant: Council sentences Sr. Derneville to pay for the slave Mingo following decision of last May, to have recourse later against whom by right should pay and to bear costs.

Signed: Lenormant.

Stained and torn.

June 13. 1 p.

See 5-2-46; 5-10-146; 5-30-146.

D'Erneville prays for delay in execution of the judgment against him until he can hear from the Minister in France, as the negro lost his life while in the service of the King.

Petition to Superior Council by Captain D'Erneville of the Marine, at Mobile, who was sentenced to pay for the slave Mingo, owned by Diron's succession stating that it is proven by certificate of Mr. Descloseaux, Comptroller of the Marine and Commissioner at Mobile that the said slave had been hired from Dubreuil by petitioner and was working for the King when injured, that he has no goods in this Colony, wherefore he prays that execution of sentence be deferred until order of the Minister reaches New Orleans.

Signed: DErneville.

Ragged edges and charred.

June 13.
1¾ pp.

Copy of letter of de Lalande regarding expense on slaves of the late Sieur Diron.

Letter sent "by Sr. de Lalande who leaves to-night", no address, nor signature, evidently a rough copy. Advises reception of his letter, of the fifth instant, with the slave Brindamour, his wife and child belonging to succession of Sieur Diron; sees expense that the treatment and lodging of the child has been to addressee, of which he intends to inform Sieur Le Normant. . . Received collated copies sent of transactions with Sieur Dubreuil concerning negroes . . . notices sent on request of Chantalou . . . trouble occasioned by accident to child of Brindamour . . . awaits answer.

June 15.
27409. fo. 30.
4195. 2½ pp.

Contract of Marriage passed at Pointe Coupée before notary appointed ad hoc by Sr. Trenaunay Chanfret, subdelegate of

Marriage contract in Pointe Coupee. Simon Callais and Miss Piere Bara.

Sieur Le Normant, between Simon Calais, widower of deceased Marguerite Moulée, son of Bernard Calais and Marguerite Peziere, a native of Cato Cambray, diocese of Cambray and Miss Piere Bara,, minor daughter of Jean Baptiste Bara, called Le Blond and of deceased Marie Plaine. The said Jean Bara and his second wife Marie Barbe Pauque stipulating for the minor, all residents of Pointe Coupee.

Signed: Calais. Mark of Jn Bte + Bara dit LeBlond. Mark + of Piere Bara. Mark + of Marie Barbe Pauque. nicolas Weisse. Patin. Vincent lepapeto. Potin, Nore.

Document stained and torn.

June 21.
27412. fo. 30.
4196. 1½ pp.

Sale of plantation at Point Coupee by Jean Bara to Nicholas La Cour for 450 livres.

Sale of Plantation of Jean Bara, called Le Blond, at Pointe Coupée, adjoining Rocancourt on one side and that of Pierre Bara on the other with fences, barns and other buildings, which he sells to replace goods of the minors, as will appear by the purchase of 16 arpents acquired from Sr. Allain acting for de Morand, this sale made to Nicolas La Cour, resident of this parish who will pay him 450 livres on the first of next December, stipulating mortgage security for same.

Signed: Mark of + Jean Barra, dit Leblond. Mark of + Nicolas La Cour. Patin witness. Balguet witness. Potin, notary.

Document stained with margins curled and torn.

June 21.
4 pp.

Procuration from Celeron, Sieur de Blainville to his wife.

Procuration granted 1741, before the Notaries Royal of Montreal by Jean Baptiste Celeron, Ecuyer Sieur de Blanville, to his wife Suzanne Piot de Langloiserie, whom he empowers to direct his affairs, to collect, receipt, sell, collect his salary from Treasurer of the Marine. Collated copy of procuration which is deposited in Adhemar's notarial office in Montreal, signed by Adhemar with paraph. (1741).

Signed: Daure De Blangy. C. Portier.

Procuration from Suzanne, wife of Celeron to Augustin Chantalou of New Orleans.

June 21, 1741 or 1746. Procuration granted before Notaries Royal of Montreal, by Suzanne Piot de Langloiserie, wife of Jen Baptiste Céléron, Ecuyer Sieur de Blainville, to Augustin Chantalou of New Orleans, to direct goods of their minor children and to receive from Sr. Pasquier, universal legatee of Sr. Ste. Therese de Langloiserie, her brother, who when living was officer of troops garrisoned in New Orleans, Louisiana; 5000 livres bequeathed by Olographic will of said brother to Jacques de Blainville, to pros-

ecute, pay, elect domicile and take all necessary legal steps necessary for interest of the said Dame de Blainville and her son.

Signed: langloiserie de blainville. C. Portier.
Daure De blangy.

June 24, 1746. Certification of signatures of Portier and Portier and DeBlangy as Notaries Royal of the jurisdiction of Quebec by Delafontaine Lieutenant of the Royal jurisdiction of Montreal, New France.

Feb. 25, 1746. Notice served, speaking to Pierrot, servant of Mr. Fleuriau, Procureur General, which he certifies.

Signed: Lenormand.

Acknowledgment by LeVerrier of 2,000 livres out of the registry of the Superior Council at New Orleans.

November 25, 1746. Acknowledgment by Sr. Le Verrier of having received in all the sum of 2000 livres, which by decree of the 5th of last March the Council ordered the Greffier to pay as sum deposited by Sr. Pasquier, universal legatee of Sr. Ste. Therese de Langloiserie, in the Registry of the Superior Council. Le Verrier was acting in name of Mr. de Vaudreuil, Governor of the Province of Louisiana.

Signed: Leverrier.

Document stained, charred, curled and torn margins with parts of text missing.

June 24.
27415. fo. 30.
4197. 3 pp.

Jean Pierre Hardy reports that his wife and step-son have emptied his house of its furnishings while he was asleep.

Declaration in Registry of Superior Council by Jean Pierre Hardy, called La Vierge, husband of Silvie Marné, widow by her first marriage of Jean Barbot, by which marriage she had two sons, reporting that last Sunday night, 19th to 20th his house was practically emptied and that he can suspect none but his wife and her emancipated son, Baptiste Barbot. He said that his wife had picked a quarrel with him late that evening, and that to avoid the noise and scandal he went to his neighbor's where he remained about three quarters of an hour and on his return went to bed, thinking his wife had retired. The next morning he found that nothing had been left on her bed but the shucks mattress and that she had taken refuge at the house of Judice Jr., taking with her a slave belonging to them, whom he reported yesterday as a runaway. He is working on account to be rendered to heirs of Barbot succession and this event renders it impossible to do the work and he makes the present report that it may serve him in case of need, without prejudice to his wife and children for the wrong done him and he demanded that act be passed of his declaration. Signed: hardy.

Henry, Greff.

Charred and stained.

June 27.
1¾ pp.

See 5-3-46; 5-7-46; 5-7-46; 3-5-46. Augustin Chantalou, agent of Peau and Bourgerel prays for the arrest of Sevet for failure to pay the judgment rendered against him last May.

Petition to Superior Council by Augustin Chantalou, acting under procuration of MM. Peau and Bourgerel, the provost of Nantes, to compel Sieur Sevet to pay the value of a bale of merchandise which they remitted to him in 1736, following decree promulgated by Council last May sentencing Sevet to pay 2355 livres, 4 sols, 4 deniers and to bear costs. As Sevet seems to own no goods in this Colony, petitioner prays for his bodily apprehension and that he pay all costs, damages and interest.

Signed: Chantalou.

June 27. Order of citation of defendant to answer on above petition signed by Lenormant.

June 28. Notice of citation served on Sevet by Sheriff Lenormand.

June 27.
27479. 2½ pp.

Saunier vs. Ducret. Plaintiff sues defendant for an account of the Dormoy succession.

Petition to Superior Council by Pierre Saunier, called Languedoc, for citation of Nicolas Ducret, called Belhumeur, to be ordered as tutor and stepfather of the Dormoy heirs to render account of the Dormoy succession, the Widow Dormoy when she married Ducret having brought a sum of 2000 livres, one half of which belonged to the Dormoy heirs and the other half to the future community.

Signed: pierre Saunier dit Languedoc.

27480. June 27. Order for citation at next session of Council signed by Raguet.

27484. June 27. Notice of citation served on Nicolas Ducret, called Belhumeur, at his domicile in New Orleans by Sheriff Lenormand.

27481. 3 pp.

Ducret answers the foregoing petition.

June 30. Defense before the Superior Council by Nicolas Ducret, in answer to demand of Pierre Saunier, married to Marie Louise Dormoy, Ducret's stepdaughter. Ducret alleges that when he married the Widow Dormoy, Marie Louise Dormoy was but three months old and her brother Olivier five years, that they were destitute and their mother ill during six months, that he raised and supported them solely by returns of his trade, spending far more than 2000 livres, which was found entire at his wife's death. He had an inventory made, but there was so little that he omitted other formalities to avoid expense in the interest of the minors; that there is no account to render but that carried in his contract, that by authentic discharge by Mr. Henry, Notary Royal. Mr. Mansiau, tutor during Ducret's absence in France placed a sum of 1000 livres by amicable agreement. Petitioner should have made his claim before Ducret left. He

was then in the troops and worked at his trade (cobbler) when he found a piece of tanned leather, as there were no facilities, and he had to work with all his strength to feed them. On his side he could claim payment for all the clothes given them, having found Marie Louise on his return from France in need of all necessary things. This quarrel seems not only erroneous and illegal but pure chicanery and he prays that Pierre Saunier's case be dismissed and that he bear costs.

Signed: Nicolas Ducré.

Document badly stained, but beautifully written.

July 2.
27474. 2½ pp.

Saunier vs. Ducret. Judgment of the Superior Council ordering the election of a tutor and subroge tutor to the children of the first and second marriages and an inventory of the goods of the first and second communities.

Excerpt from Register of the Sessions of the Council.

Decision in case of Pierre Saunier, called Languedoc, plaintiff for his wife, Marie Louise Dormoy, minor daughter of deceased Dormoy and Marie Louise Catton (Cateaux), also deceased, vs. Nicolas Ducret, called Belhumeur, stepfather and tutor of the wife of said plaintiff, by marital authority, defendant:

After examination Council orders that a tutor and under tutor (subrogate tutor) be appointed to the children of the first and second marriage and that inventory be taken of the goods of the first and second community, in force to the date on which said Ducret shall render account before one of the Councillors in the presence of the Procureur General of the King, reserving other demands. Council having seen and heard defense of said Ducret orders that after inventory it be proceeded to the division of goods before Mr. Raguet.

Signed: By the Council.
Henry, Greff.

Notice of foregoing judgment.

July 7. Notice of citation before Council at its next session, served on Sr. Saunier, called Languedoc, soldier, at his domicile and on Sr. Ducret, cobbler, residing in New Orleans.

Signed: Lenormand.

July 11. Notice, following order of Council, served on Sr. Ducret, cobbler of New Orleans, in person by Sheriff Lenormand.

Notices to attend family meeting.

Notice served on Sr. Ferrant, on Sr. Dusigne, Sr. Bertrand and on Sr. Sautier, to appear on the following day at seven o'clock in the morning, before Mr. Raguet, in his house to give their opinion and to elect a tutor and under tutor to the minor heirs of deceased Dormoy.

Signed: Lenormand.

27477. 3½ pp.

Deliberations of the family meeting.

July 12. Meeting of relatives and friends of Dormoy minors, called before Mr. Raguet, to proceed to election of a tutor and subroge tutor, following order

of Superior Council, Sr. Mancio, uncle of the Minors and Sr. Dusigne as under tutor, and all signed excepting four who declared they could not sign nor write after which the election was homologated.

Signed: Dusigne. Lantic. Raguet. Henry, notary.

27485.

Receipt of Olivier Dormoy to Francois Mancio, his tutor.

May 26, 1748. Acknowledgment in Notary's office, by Olivier Dormoy, son of Claude Dormoy and Marie Louise Castro, both deceased, of age, and after having counted with Francois Mancio, his tutor, that he has this day received the sum of three hundred and twenty-five livres in piastres of five livres each. A like sum was paid to Marie Louise Dormoy, wife of Pierre Saunier, called Languedoc, explained by the transaction of July 13, 1746, and full discharge given to Sr. Mancio.

27456. 4206.
4½ pp. Copy.

Agreement of Amicable compromise between Ducret and his step children.

July 13, 1746. Agreement between Pierre Saunier, called Languedoc, soldier in the Marine troops and husband of Marie Louise Dormoy, the said Madam Saunier being present and authorized by her husband; and Francois Manciaux, uncle by marriage and tutor of Olivier Dormoy; Sieur Dusigne, subroge tutor of said Olivier Dormoy here present; Nicolas Ducret, called Belhameur, widower by his second marriage of the widow of Dormoy, natural tutor of Nicolas Ducret, his son by Marie Cateau, all of whom for the sake of union and peace have agreed to allow claims of said Saunier, who has been advised by his friends to settle the difference amicably, there being no movables nor immovables in possession of Ducret, following inventory of this day hereto annexed and considering that Ducret when he left for France left with Manciau a sum of 1000 livres to be divided between the Dormoy heirs as appears by Manciau's receipt of May 27, 1740, and for Ducret's kindness to Marie Louise Dormoy, and of payment of the sum of 125 livres in 25 piastres, Spanish money at five livres per piastres, paid this day by Ducret who is thereby discharged from all claims Madam Saunier may have on him, etc. Saunier promises to have all that has been agreed ratified by Olivier Dormoy.

Done and passed in the house where Ducret lodges in the presence of Pierre Saunier, Jahan, Dusigne, Chantalou, and Henry, Notary.

As Copy. Signed: Broutin, notary.

Note: He was Francisco Ignace Broutin, his son Francisco Broutin the 2d and Narcisse Broutin, who died in 1815, the 3d generation of notaries in the family.

fo. 30. 37461.
4207. 1 p.

Statement of the settlement under above compromise.

Statement of Dormoy succession:
To Olivier Dormoy 200 L. on 500 L., which Belhumeur paid on transaction of May 23, 1740, here.....200 L.
125 L. received by said Olivier Dormoy by act of July 13, 1746.....125 L.
Like sum to Maria Louise Dormoy, after her marriage to Pierre Saunier .....325 L.

27462. 4 pp.

Original of the foregoing compromise.

July 13, 1746. Compromise between Ducret and Dormoy heirs; receipt of Pierre Saunier dit Languedoc for payment made to Marie Louise Dormoy, his wife; mention of 1000 livres left to Manciau, uncle and tutor of said Dormoy minors in 1740; division settled and hereafter only settlement to be made will be with Nicolas Ducret, son of N. Ducret and Marie Cateau when, he reaches his majority. This is the original of copy marked 27456. signed Broutin pierre Saunier Languedoc. Jahan. Chantalou. Dusigne. Henry, notary.

27466. 8 pp.

Inventory of the effects of Nicolas Ducret.

Ducret's second wife protests this inventory claiming that the property so inventoried is that which was acquired with the 1300 livres she brought her husband at the marriage.

July 13, 1746. Inventory taken of goods of the first community between Marie Louise Cateau and Claude Dormoy and of the second between said Marie Louise Cateau, widow Dormoy, and her second husband Nicolas Ducret, Master Cobbler, in the house where said Ducret lodges at Sr. Cheval's in the presence of the Procureur General of the King, the undersigned notary, and of Councillor Raguet. Was also present Marie Jeanne Pezé, married to said Nicolas Ducret who asked that her protest be entered against inventory to be taken, ordered by decree of Council, affirming that when she married Ducret he had nothing and that the few things now in his domicile proceeded from 1300 livres she brought him at her marriage, demanding that act be passed of her protest so that the said inventory might not carry prejudice to her interests, which was granted. Mr. Lenormand then proceeded to appraise all their effects. Inventory covers four and a half pages, including furniture, crockery, glassware, slaves, passive debts, titles and papers, which he declared was all that they had, whereon inventory was closed and certificate given of its contents, left in charge of said Ducret who promised to produce them when so ordered.

Signed: pierre Saunier. Dusigne. Jahan. Lenormand. Raguet. Henry, Gref.

Document stained and charred but plainly legible.

June 28. 2 pp.

George Tesson, tutor of Jeanne Marie Caron, sues Barbin, Procureur of Vacant Estates for an account of his ward's estate.

Petition to Superior Council by George Tesson, acting as tutor of Jeanne Marie Caron, minor daughter of deceased Jean Caron, whose sucession, following the death of her first tutor, Jean Merle has fallen into the hands of the Curator of Vacant Estates. He prays for citation of Sr. Barbin, Procureur of Vacant Estates to be ordered to render account of succession of Caron and of that of Merle, called Grandjean.

Signed: Lenormand for Tesson.

June 28. Order for citation of Barbin signed by Councillor Raguet and notice of citation served on him the same day by Sheriff Lenormand.

June 28. 3½ pp.

Piemont, agent of Bourgine, brings further proceedings against LaBrosse to force a settlement of the judgment of June 4 and for a further accounting. He threatens bodily apprehension should LaBrosse default.
See entry of June 2 and decree of June 4, ante.

Petition to Superior Council by J. B. Bancio Piemont, acting under procuration of creditors of Sr. Bourgine, for citation of Sr. La Brosse, to be condemned and compelled by force to obey the decree of the fourth inst., to pay the sum of 37104 livres, 1 sol, 6 deniers in specie of France, amount of his bill, not including items in memorandum, notice served on said La Brosse on the 20th of the present month.

Secondly: To pay by provision the two bills for the Colonial goods, rendered by said La Brosse, amounting to 6971 livres, 13 sols, 2 deniers, Specie of France.

Thirdly: To remit the articles which have not been sold of said Colonial goods and to furnish a detailed journal of same the account rendered not being correctly made.

Fourthly: To render account of profits made on said merchandise from Sr. Herault with funds of Sr. Bourgine.

Fifthly: To produce statement of purchases (acquisitions) in this Colony from funds of Sr. Bourgine and not of the extraordinary expense he has chosen to make for his own satisfaction, to which he shall be compelled by seizure of his goods and bodily apprehension.

Signed: JBancio Piemont.

June 28. Order of citation to Sr. La Brosse before the Council at its next session. Signed: Raguet.

June 28. Notice of citation served on Sr. La Brosse by Sheriff Lenormand.

June 28. 2 pp.

LaBrosse vs. Dauphin to recover 450 piastres.

Petition to Superior Council by Jacques Filipe De La Brosse for citation of Dauphin for recovery of debt of 450 piastres, for lot sold to him in this City on which said Dauphin built a house without having paid for lot.

Signed: DeLabrosse.

June 28. Citation issued for next session of Council.
Signed: Raguet.

June 28. Notice served on Sr. Dauphin by Lenormand. Document badly stained.

June 28. 2¼ pp. **Petition** to Superior Council by Sr. Carriere for citation of Sr. Tixerant, his father-in-law and tutor of the minor heirs of deceased, who rendered account and made division of goods of said minors reserving a sum of 4000 livres due to community of said Carriere by his deceased brother Antoine Carriere of Illinois, of which sum one half belonged to the mother of petitioner. Sr. Boré, inhabitant of Illinois married the daughter and sole legatee of Antoine Carriere and having obtained permission to prosecute her, said Boré answered that the sum had been paid by deceased Antoine Carriere. Wherefore petitioner prays that Sr. Tixerant be cited, to be ordered to pay petitioner the sum of 666 livres, 13 sols, 4 deniers as his quota in the sum of the aforesaid 4000 livres, and to bear costs by bodily apprehension as well as by seizure of his goods.

Carriere vs. Tixerant.

To recover plaintiff's quota of a debt collected by defendant (his father in law) that formed part of the community between the father and mother of petitioner.

Sr. Bore of Illinois mentioned in this petition is generally supposed to be the father of Etienne Bore of Louisiana, the grandfather of Charles Gayarre.

Signed: Carriere.

June 28. Order of citation on Sr. Tixerant signed: Lenormant.

June 28. Notice of citation served on Sr. Tixerant at his domicile in house of Sr. Chàperon on petition of Andre Carriere in New Orleans, by Sheriff Lenormand.

June 28.
27426.
Listed No. 112.
4199. 3½ pp. **Inventory** of goods of Louis Questa, made on demand of Nicolas Godefroy Barbin, Attorney of Vacant Estates, by order of Jean Baptiste Raguet, and sale and adjudication of same in the presence of the Procureur General of the King and of the Attorney of Vacant Estates, Sr. Barbin requested that an inventory be made of some effects that said Questa left in the Registry, which have very little value and the said sale will serve as an inventory. Said Questa was the overseer of Sr. Prevost's plantation and was drowned in the Mississippi on the twenty-fourth of June of the present year.

Succession of Louis Questa. Sale of the effects of the decedent.

Sale and adjudication was completed July 7th, 1746, and was signed: Barbin. fleuriau. Raguet. Henry, Greffier.

27428. June 27, 1746. Inclosed in previous document:

Report by the Procureur General of the King that Louis Questa, overseer of Sr. Prevost's plantation situated at the English Turn, was accidentally drowned, day

Report of the death of Questa by drowning in the Mississippi River. He was the overseer of J. B. Prevost's plantation.

before yesterday, coming down from the boat from Leogane into his pirogue. He leaves no real estate, had no wife, nor children and was here since 1741, engaged on the ship "La Reins des Anges". His succession can only consist of clothes for his use and some money which may be in his chest. Wherefore the Procureur prays that Sr. Barbin, Attorney of Vacant Estates, take charge for absent heirs and creditors and that inventory be made to render account to whom concerned when so ordered by law. Signed: fleuriau.

June 27. Order to proceed as requested before M. Raguet, Councillor. Signed: Lenormant.

Document slightly charred but clearly legible.

June 29. 2½ pp. **Petition** to M. Le Normant, Commissioner General of the Marine, Ordonnateur in the Province of Louisiana, and First Judge in the Superior Council and to the Members of the Superior Council of the said Province, by Sr. Antoine Aufrere, acting under procuration of the heiress of deceased Sr. D'Ausseville, former Attorney of Vacant Estates, stating that he rendered account to Sr. Barbin of all the funds of succession of said D'Ausseville, that Sr. Barbin is responsible for much larger sums, Wherefore he prays that he be ordered to render the account demanded since eighteen months, when and where it may please the Council to order for the interest of the heirs.

Aufrere, agent of the daughter of the late Sr. D'Auseville, sues Barbin, Attorney for Vacant Estates for an accounting of the D'Auseville Succession.

Signed: Aufrere.

Document stained, charred and torn.

(To be Continued)

INDEX TO SPANISH JUDICIAL RECORDS OF LOUISIANA
XXXVIII.

February-March, 1781

(Continued from October, 1932.)

By LAURA L. PORTEOUS
With Occasional Notes By Henry P. Dart

February 19, 1781.

Criminal Prosecution of an English negro, Thomas, for having stolen some money.

No. 3530. 16 pp.
Court of Alcalde
Jacinto Panis.
Assessor, Postigo.
Escribano, Mazange.

The accused is found guilty and is condemned to receive 200 lashes; to be imprisoned six months and to serve the rest of his time in the galleys.

Alcalde Jacinto Panis makes a formal declaration that he has just been notified by Francisco Jorje Gonzales that on the night of the 16th current, while asleep he was awakened by the noise of falling money, stolen by a negro from a chest, the key to which he had found in a drawer of the table, broken open for this purpose. Immediately after, with the assistance of a neighbor, named Deguet, he tied the negro and took him to prison.

Acting on this information the Alcalde ordered that the criminal and his accomplices be examined and their written statements delivered to him for further proceedings.

Thomas appears in Court.

The negro, Thomas, is brought before Alcalde Panis, in the presence of Escribano Mazange. The prisoner declares he is English. The Court orders Alexo Reáux interpreter to translate Thomas' declarations.

Thomas is examined.

Interrogated under oath, the prisoner declares his name is Thomas and that he belongs to Reverend Father Hilario, Capuchin Priest of the Parish Church of Atakapas, that he was arrested by Joseph Duguez, of this city, in the courtyard of the latter's house occupied in common with his Spanish neighbor, a dealer in small wares, that he was arrested on the night of the 18th-19th, an hour and a half before day, at a house situated in front of the Capuchins, whither he had gone in company with a negro who went inside the house leaving the prisoner at the door of the Courtyard. Later he came out with some effects such as blankets, soap, stockings,

shoes with silver buckles, etc. The negro told him to take care of these things, and putting the buckles in his pocket went back into the house. After a little time the witness heard a noise, than he perceived the same negro with other effects, he told he must not make so much noise, then he went into the house again and at the same moment, he, Thomas, heard the sound of coined silver and much disturbance inside. The reason was the owner having discovered he was being robbed, got up and began to call "thief," at whose voice the negro who was within fled over the fence.

Witness was arrested because he was in the courtyard. Asked if he knew the negro, he said no. Where was he taken as a prisoner? To the Principal Guard Room. By whom was he transferred to the Royal Prison from the Guard Room? By order of Alcalde Mayor Hacinto Panis. When he was a prisoner in the Guard Room did he not declare that the negro was Mrs. Magnon's Scipion? He said yes. Did he not also declare that Scipion had told him the house where they were going belonged to his master and that he had his wife there? He answered, yes this is the truth. Did he enter the house? No, he always remained outside to guard the door of the courtyard. When he was arrested did he have an axe in his hand and a handkerchief with a piece of soap? Yes. Did he have anything else? No, nothing else.

Where did he get the axe? He took it from the pirogue in which he came, it served to make the necessary repairs. Why did he bring the axe in his hand when he went to the house? He brought it from the pirogue to cut wood for heating, or to sell. Why did he carry it with him at that hour for cutting wood, knowing he was going with Scipion to that house? He said when he met Scipion he told him to bring his axe. Where was he sleeping that night and at what hour was the negro to call him? He was sleeping at Mrs. Amelot's, he does not remember at what hour Scipion called him, but he was there when he was awakened, the witness asked: "Is it very late?" the other said: "No." Did Scipion arrange to go wake him? He said during the day Scipion told him he would go to wake him. For what reason did he say he would go to wake him? According to what was agreed it was to lease (hire) him out, as the witness did not know anyone.

How long was he in the city? About a week and a half before he was arrested. During this time did he talk much to Scipion? He saw him frequently in the city, but he never talked to him until this occasion. Where were they when he asked to hire him? On the levee, in front of the market. For what kind of work did he wish to hire himself out? He said he asked Scipion and he answered him: "To row." Knowing that he was to row why did he bring the axe along? To cut wood on the voyage. Asked had he any more to say? What is his religion? Age? He said he is a Christian, a servant in

Charleston, a native of Guinea, aged about twenty years. What he has declared is the truth.

Scipion is examined.

Scipion is next examined. He does not know why he is in prison, he was arrested by some soldiers with the Adjutant Mayor, Pablo Le Blanc. He does not know Thomas. Asked if two days before his arrest he was not a fugitive, he said no. Asked if he was not hired to Mrs. Magnon? He said his owner is Mariano Musey, he hired him to Mrs. Magnon. Asked why did he not work for Mrs. Magnon on the nineteenth and twentieth? He said one day because he was sick and the other because of the rain. Asked if the night before he went to Mrs. Amelot's to wake up a negro to row him? He said no. Did he not talk to a negro one day on the levee to hire him to row? No. What did he do at Jorje Gonzales' house at such an unseemly hour of the night? He was not there. Was he not in the house as has been stated? No. How did he open the door of the house, the one that gives into the courtyard, was it not with the axe? He did not open it. Did he not force the drawer of the counter? No. Did he not find the key of the money chest and take some money? No. From where did he steal the effects, such as blankets, soap, stockings, silver buckles, etc., that he put in the care of Thomas while he stood at the door of Jorge Gonzales' house the night of the 18th current. He has never stolen.

Is it not true that a little while after he had turned over to Thomas the first effects that he had stolen he brought others and that Thomas told him he was making too much noise, he re-entered the house and the owner having heard the noise of the pesos got up and discovering that he had been robbed, began to cry: "thief!"? He said he did not do so. Does he know Thomas? He does not. Did he open the chest in which the money is kept with keys, or in any other way. He said he did not open it. To whom does he belong? To Mr. Mariano Murey. Does he not know that it is wrong to steal and that those who do so are punished by Justice? He knows that, but he has never stolen. What is his religion and where was he born? He is a Christian and was born of the Hibou (Owl) nation.

Maria is examined.

Mrs. Amelot's Maria is called next. Asked if she knew Thomas? She answered yes because he had at one time belonged to Mr. Rosemond Dubrieul, a brother of her owner, and an Officer of the Regiment of Infantry of this place. He sold a negro, a comrade of Thomas to Mrs. Amelot. Did Thomas sleep at her owner's house every night? He came sometimes and was there the night before the robbery. She knows of this because she heard it said that morning that at nights he came there to sleep and went to bed in the kitchen with his comrade and her owner's other slaves. On the night

of the robbery he came, but went away very early. Mrs. Amelot had retired very late that night because she had gone to the Contador's house on account of the death of his wife. All the slaves were awakened, they noted that Thomas was missing together with an axe that had been left against the house in the courtward. She asked the others if they had heard Thomas when he went out and when they missed the axe they all agreed that it was he who had taken it. She was made to look at the axe by Don Hyacinto Panis, and upon seeing it, she recognized it to be the one belonging to her owner. The axe remained deposited with a handkerchief and other articles stolen that were in the keeping of the prisoner when he was arrested.

Thelemaco is examined.

The next witness questioned is Thelemaco, belonging to Mrs. Amelot. Asked if he knows Thomas? He said yes. On the night of the robbery did he sleep at Mrs. Amelot's? Yes, he came to sleep there sometimes when he came to the city with the witness and his companions in the kitchen of his owner's house. Who were the others that got up that night? He said when he went to bed it was early, but he could not say at what hour it was that Thomas got up as neither he nor his other companions saw him. When they woke up it was past mid-night because at that hour his Madame returned from the Contador's house where she had been because of the death of the "Señora Contadora". Does he know this axe that is before him? And the handkerchief? He said he recognized the axe as it belongs to his Madame and is the same he uses to cut wood. The witness put a nail in the end of it so as to identify it, he had left it against the wall of the house, it was missing when he woke up and so was Thomas. The handkerchief is the same that Thomas had tied on his head when he went home. Did he hear that Thomas had stolen other things on that night? In the morning he heard it said that Thomas was at the house from which 1000 pesos were stolen from the Catalan. When Thomas came to retire to rest did he talk of this, or any other robbery? No.

Linda is examined.

Mrs. Amelot's Linda is questioned. Does she know Thomas? Yes she knows him well. Did she sleep with him the day of the 18th at her owner's house? Yes she was accustomed to do this many times with him and with his companions in the kitchen of the house. Does she remember at what hour he got up on the night of the 18th? She can not say the hour positively, but she remembers it was early when he retired. She does not know when he went out as she did not see either him or his companions when she got up, however it must have been before midnight, because her Madame returned at that hour after having been to the Contador's house on account of the death of his wife. Everyone sleeping in the house was

awakened when Mrs. Amelot came home. Does she know the axe that was used in her Madame's house to cut wood? She said, yes, and when one was shown to her she said it was the same that belonged to her Madame, and that the handkerchief tied around the handle of it belonged to Thomas and when he went to bed he had it tied around his head. At the time she retired the axe was against the wall of the house, when she got up she did not meet Thomas because he was missing when the others assembled. Did she know if Thomas had stolen anything else? She knows, because she heard it said the following day that Thomas was in jail on account of having stolen 1000 pesos from a Catalan. The night that the axe was missing did she hear Thomas talk of the robbery? No.

Thomas and Scipion remanded to prison.

The summary investigation finished, Panis on Postigo's advice orders Thomas and Scipion remanded to prison. Let the warden certify that he holds them and let them proceed to the taking of their confessions. The warden certificates.

Thomas' confession.

Thomas' confession is taken and is as follows: His name is Thomas. He belongs to Reverend Father Hilario, Capuchin. He is about twenty years old. He was arrested by a countryman, whose name he does not know, was taken to the Guard Room and transferred to prison by order of Alcalde Panis, the cause of his arrest was because he was found with an axe in his hand and with a handkerchief filled with various articles stolen from Francisco George Gonzales. He remembers having made a declaration which he wishes read to him and to be made a part of his confession. Asked if he would recognize the handkerchief if it was put in front of him? He said yes, and when shown the exhibit he said it belonged to him. Did he carry it in his pocket, or on his head when he went to Gonzales' house? It was tied to his belt. Did he wear it tied around his head when he slept? He said yes, before he tied it to his belt he had it around his head.

Would he know the axe if it was put before him? Yes. Where did the axe come from and to whom does it belong? It belongs to Mrs. Amelot and he took it from her house. Why did he take it that night when it did not belong to him? He said Scipion asked him to bring an axe along to cut wood. Reminded that he had said in his declaration that he had brought the axe from the pirogue in which he came and now he says he took it from Mrs. Amelot's house? He said what he confesses now is the truth. Was this the axe he used to open the door by which Scipion entered to steal? No the door was opened by Scipion who used his hand to raise a hook. Was it Scipion who was to wake him and did he tell him to take the axe. No it was only to wake him, he did not tell him to take the axe. Does he not know that it is a crime to steal

and also one to help thieves and that the law has established punishments for those who do? Yes, that is the truth and he knows it.

Scipion's Confession.

Scipion's confession reads: He is named Scipion and belongs to Don Mariano Mouray. He was arrested by the Adjutant of the Place, but he does not know for what reason. He remembers his declaration and is willing to have it read to him and made a part of his confession. Asked if he went to wake Thomas? He said, no. Was he not hired to Mr. Magnon to work? Yes. Did he not tell Thomas to take care of some of the stolen things? No. Did he not force open a drawer so as to get the key to unlock the chest where the money was kept? No. Did the noise of opening the chest and taking 900 pesos from under the pillow awaken the owner, and did he not run into the street by escaping over the fence? No.

Confrontation of the criminals.

Jacinto Panis causes Thomas and Scipion to appear before him in the presence of Notary Mazange and interpreter Alex Reaud where they are confronted with their confessions. Thomas said what he had declared in his is the truth. Scipion said all is false, he has never seen nor talked with Thomas before. Thomas further added that Scipion was present and was the one who gave him the soap, stockings, shoes and buckles and the same who woke him and told him not to make so much noise when they went to steal, the same one who hired him to cut wood and is the one he has spoken of in his declaration and confession. They did not sign as they could not write.

The Definitive sentence.

Jacinto Panis, on the advice of Assessor Juan del Postigo renders the definitive judgment as follows: Thomas is condemned in the first place to receive 200 lashes in the ordinary form in the public streets of the city and must be put to shame (in the stocks?) for the space of one hour and then he must serve His Majesty in the Royal works of this place for six months and that he must not be broken under the punishment then let him serve the rest of the time in the galleys. Scipion, belonging to Mariano Mure is absolved of the crime but in case a new investigation should prove him guilty then let them proceed against him.

Sentence carried into effect.

Alcalde Panis orders Francisco Munoz, Warden of the prison to deliver the prisoner to Deputy Sheriff, Nicolas Fromentin, so as to carry out the foregoing order of July 9, 1781. Warden Munoz delivers Thomas to Fromentin who with the assistance of a party of soldiers from the battalion of Louisiana and with the public town crier accompanying them, who calls out in a high distinct voice the nature of the crime, saying: "this is the justice that the King, Our Lord, has ordered done, Don Jacinto Panis, Alcalde Ordinario, acting in

his Royal Name, condemned the criminal to receive 200 lashes from the public hangman in the streets of the city. When this punishment had been inflicted he was returned to the prison so as to complete the sentence. Costs are taxed at 28 pesos, on November 7, 1781. The record does not state by whom to be paid.

February 27.
Criminal Prosecution. Maria Vizente, widow of Thomas Poree vs. Angelica, a negress, belonging to Mr. Bernoudy, and Pedro, owned by Mrs. Arnauld, for robbery.
No. 3534. 44 pp.
Court of Alcalde Dufossat.
Assessor, Juan del Postigo.
Escribano, Leonardo Mazange.

There is coupled with this a civil demand payment from the owners of the slaves for the value of the stolen merchandise.

The plaintiff obtained a rehearing on this allowance and a contest ensued as to the value of the merchandise. This was finally taxed at 125 pesos, which Pedro's owner was condemned to pay.

The slave Pedro is found guilty and condemned to receive fifty lashes and to be put to public shame for one hour.

Mrs. Arnauld his owner is ordered to pay 50 pesos for the stolen merchandise.

The record opens with a statement giving the articles of dry goods and their valuation that had been stolen by Mrs. Arnaud's slave, Pedro, amounting to 189 pesos, 6 reales. Alcalde Dufossat issues an order to begin the proceedings, declaring that Maria Vicente, widow of Thomas Poree, has notified him that about four o'clock in the morning of this day, a hole was broken in the wall of her house by removing bricks and boards so as to enter her shop, from which various articles of merchandise were stolen, the value of which amounts to the sum she has stipulated in the note presented. She does not know who was the thief, but one called Toulus, her immediate neighbor, told her at four o'clock in the morning he heard some whistles, and knocks that came from her house. She got up very early and with her slave, Maria, they found the door of the shop leveled and various pieces of merchandise on the floor. On the strength of this declaration His Honor ordered the process begun upon the tenor of which persons having any knowledge of the theft must be examined and the criminal and his accomplices put in prison and his or their property seized.

The Escribano's report.

The next step in the proceedings is the Escribano's declaration to the effect that he went to Mrs. Poree's and entered her shop where he found a hole had been made in the wall by removing bricks and boards sufficiently large to admit a man.

Toulus gives testimony.

The Alcalde caused Francisco Morain, called Toulus to appear to make a declaration. He says it is true that at four o'clock in the morning of this day he heard some one whistle and

strike some blows in Mrs. Poree's house, but he does not know anything else. He got up very early and saw Mrs. Poree's house had been broken into.

Mrs. Poree makes a declaration.

Nothing further is done until April 17, 1781, when Mrs. Poree appears before Alcalde Dufossat to make a declaration. Questioned as to what person she suspected of being the thief and if she had ever seen anyone passing frequently in front of her house? She said no, but to-day, on the street, she had seen a negress, named Angelica, belonging to Mr. Bernoudy, dressed entirely in merchandise stolen from her store, the night it was robbed. She instantly went to Mr. Bernoudy's house and called the negress before her to compare her dress with a sample she brought with her and found them alike. She asked who had given, or sold her the clothes. She answered all had been gifts from Pierre, who belongs to Mrs. Arnaud.

Angelica's testimony.

Angelica is the next witness, she declares that at the end of the Carnival, Pierre made her a present of two handkerchiefs, a cut of yellow material and some coarse thread and having made it up she put on one of the handkerchiefs which Mrs. Poree noticed, and came to her master's house where she compared the material and the handkerchief with some samples she brought with her and they were alike. When Pierre made her the present he said he had bought the things from Mr. Guenon. Alcalde Dufossat orders the arrest of Pierre, who belongs to Mr. Renaud (Arnaud) together with a certification of his imprisonment, and let them proceed to take his declaration. The writ of arrest is issued and served by deputy sheriff, Nicolas Fromentin.

Pedro's declaration.

Under questioning Pedro answers: Where did he sleep on April 17, Holy Thursday night? At Mr. Bernoudy's plantation on the other side of the river opposite the city. Why did he go to sleep at Mr. Bernoudy's plantation? It was to visit Angelica and as it was late he remained to sleep in her room. Does he know who gave Angelica some colored petticoats, blue and yellow, a handkerchief striped white, blue and red and some coarse thread? He gave them to her. He bought one handkerchief in Mr. Guenon's shop and the petticoats and striped handkerchief from a free negro, who works for Don Pedro Aragon, but he does not remember his name. He left the city for Pensacola. Does he know if Angelica has, at present, other clothes and has he given her any others? Yes, he knows she has other colored and striped petticoats, that he gave her, besides a coarse linen chemise.

Before Holy Thursday was he at Mrs. Poree's shop and did he speak to anyone there? Yes he was there to plant some fig trees in the courtyard. He talked to Mrs. Poree's daughter, who made him enter the shop to go to her mother's room where

he talked to her and at another time he went out by the shop to go to the courtyard to plant the fig trees. Does he know if the free negro sold other merchandise and to whom. He does not know if he had anything else, he did not see him again as he had nothing with which to buy more. Where does this negro live? He lives on a ship as he was a soldier of the expedition that arrived from Havana. Did the negress make the petticoats just as soon as he gave her the stuff? The morning after she took the material to her Madame for her to cut them out.

Does he know anything of the robbery of Mrs. Poree's shop on the night of February 26th? He knows of it as he has heard his wife, Angelica, say so. Why did the negress inform him of this robbery? He said when he went there to sleep, after Easter, at Mr. Bernoudy's house; the negroes said to him: "Why have you robbed Mrs. Poree, they will wish to arrest you because of this robbery. They have compared the petticoats with a piece Mrs. Poree had." When he heard this he was very much frightened for he knew he would be accused on a false suspicion.

Mr. Bernoudy testifies. Francisco Bernoudy testifies that during the days of the Carnival, Angelica brought to the house a piece of striped cotton called "Ginga," with white and blue stripes. She asked Anna Dreux, his wife, to cut the piece of cloth into some petticoats and in fact they were cut out and were made up by Mr. Richoux's wife at his plantation during Holy Week. Mrs. Poree came to his house to make a comparison, before him, of the negress' petticoats with samples she had and they were alike. There was also an imitation garnet necklace and a pair of scissors that Mrs. Poree recognized as hers.

The Criminal sentenced. Alcalde Dufossat, on Postigo's advice condemns Mrs. Arnaud's Pedro to suffer the punishment of fifty lashes in the streets of the city and to be put to public shame for one hour. Mrs. Arnoult must pay Mrs. Poree 50 pesos, the price of the effects stolen by her slave.

The Civil suit. This ends the criminal proceedings, the suit now becomes a civil one when Maria Vincente, Widow Poree, presents a petition to the effect that she has been notified of a decree by which Mrs. Arnaud has been ordered to pay her 50 pesos, the full amount of the robbery committed by her slave, this judgment is detrimental to her. She asks and obtains the records of the case and thereafter she states that her claim is for 189 pesos, 6 reales, instead of 50 pesos as allowed her by the Court. She prays to have the previous decree revoked and her opponent taxed costs caused or to be caused. Dufossat, on Postigo's advice, orders this request sent to Agata La Croix, Widow

Arnaud. The Escribano (Leonardo Mazange) reports he was unable to deliver the petition as the defendant is on her plantation. Thereupon citation is issued and Pedro Bertoniere, Deputy Sheriff, states he spent 4 reales for a pirogue to cross the river to serve the writ.

Mrs. Arnaud answers.

In due course, Agata La Cruca, Widow Arnaud appoints Rafael Perdomo, attorney, to defend her in this suit. In this document her name appears as Agata La Croix, Widow Renos (Renaud) she asks and obtains the records of the case and answers Mrs. Poree's demand, contesting her claim, saying the crime has not been proven against her slave, and prays to be freed from all responsibility. Dufossat on Postigo's advice orders Messrs. Villefrance and Durel to appraise the merchandise described in the statement, presented by Mrs. Poree, as having been stolen by Pedro. Jean Durel and Antoine Boudousquie, substituting for Villefranche, each in separate declaration appraise the articles at 129 pesos.

Mrs. Poree's answer.

Mrs. Poree petitions for the approval of the reports. Dufossat on Postigo's advice orders that Mrs. Arnaud be notified of the same and if she has anything to say against it to do so within three days. The defendant fails to respond within three days. Nine days later Mrs. Poree asks for a judgment by default and that defendant be condemned to pay costs.

Mrs. Arnaud protests.

Thereupon the defendant protests against the appraisement, and asks that the last ruling be revoked and the records of the case be delivered to her. This petition is denied as to the records, but if Mrs. Arnaud has anything to say against the appraisement let her make representation to the Tribunal. Signed Dufossat and Postigo. Thereupon she reiterates her plea that her slave had nothing to do with the robbery and no crime has been proven against him, and asks that he be absolved of the offense attributed to him and she be relieved of all responsibility.

The definitive judgment.

Dufossat on Postigo's advice renders a definitive judgment condemning Mrs. Arnoult to pay 129 pesos to Mrs. Poree and that her negro Pedro receive fifty lashes in the public streets and be exposed one hour to public shame.

Mrs. Poree asks for taxation.

Mrs. Poree asks for taxation of costs. In a second petition she states that her opponent has been notified of the definitive judgment and the time has passed for making an appeal. As she has done nothing she asks the Court to declare the said sentence as consented and passed in the authority of a thing adjudged. This is ordered sent to Mrs. Arnoult. Mrs. Poree presents a third petition reiterating her previous requests. Dufossat on Postigo's advice rules: The Court gives and does

give as consented to and passed in authority of a thing adjudged, the sentence pronounced in these proceedings on March 20th of the present year and as such must be put into execution.

Perdomo answers. Rafael Perdomo for Mrs. Arnoult states that his client has been condemned to pay costs and asks that a taxation be made of same so that he may know what is due.

Mrs. Poree asks for execution. Mrs. Poree complains she has not been able to collect the judgment, and prays for a writ of execution for the full amount of the debt, its one tenth and costs. Dufossat on Postigo's advice orders the writ issued. However it is not necessary to serve the writ as Mrs. Arnoult pays and Charles Poree signs for his mother, together with Leonardo Mazange, the Escribano. Costs taxed at 68 pesos, 6 reales.

March 1.
Juan Ruby vs.
Alexo Lesassier.
No. 3576. 3 pp.
Court of Alcalde Pedro Piernas.
Assessor, Postigo.
Escribano, Mazange.
To collect a debt.

Juan Ruby, Surgeon of the Regiment of this place presents a note signed "Lesassier Jr," dated January 31st, 1774, and avers that thereunder Luis Lesassier owes him 175 pesos. This debt matured six years ago, but he has never been able to collect. He asks to have the defendant verify the obligation and be ordered to pay within a short space of time. Lesassier verifies his signature, but declares he does not owe the full amount claimed, which he will prove in case it is necessary.

In a formal plea to the petition, he says that one named Vincente has in his possession one of the notes in favor of Juan Ruby, absent, and Vincente is trying to collect it from him. He has paid the greater part of the debt, and he prays that Vincente be condemned to surrender the note to the escribano so he may hold the portion that belongs to Ruby. Petition granted. This ends the proceedings.

March 2.
Fernando Rodriguez vs.
Carlos Latour.
No. 3526. 5 pp.
Court of Alcalde Jacinto Panis.
Assessor, Postigo.
Escribano, Mazange.
To collect a debt.

Plaintiff claims 594 pesos and 320 pieces of lumber in its natural state, which he has been unable to collect. He asks to have the debt verified by defendant. Carlos La Tour is on his plantation, and plaintiff asks for citation. This is issued and served by Nicolas Fromentin. The defendant pays no attention to the writ, and Rodriguez petitions for a minister of justice to go with the necessary commission to his plantation to take

his decclaration. Panis on Postigo's advice grants the request, ordering some minister of justice to be entrusted with the taking of the declaration which must be delivered to the Escribano. Let the necessary writ be issued. A marginal note states the writ that was ordered has been issued. This ends the record.

March 5.
Criminal Prosecution of Pedro Buigas, for Contempt of Court.
No. 3468. 10 pp.
Court of Alcalde Jacinto Panis.
No Assessor.
Escribano, Leonardo Mazange.

The defendants were prosecuted for contempt because they ran away to escape arrest. Thereupon the property of Pedro Buigas was seized and nine days later the accused surrendered and were fined fifteen days in jail for contempt and the costs. When Buigas had served this time his property was returned to him.

Alcalde Jacinto Panis opens the proceedings with an announcement that in the administration of justice he ordered one of the ministers of it to imprison Juliana, a free negress, and Pedro. He was unable to effect the arrest because they had fled. Therefore he orders an inventory made of their effects and names Fernando Rodriguez defender of the absent parties. When all the above-said has been done he will proceed to the rest of the necessary actions.

The inventory is ordered and it is taken in the presence of Alcalde Panis and Escribano Mazange in the shop or cabaret owned by Pedro Buigas. The contents of this shop shows many different kinds of wines and liquors. There were also clothes and personal belongings, and household effects. The last entry of the inventory stipulates that the Alcalde, Escribano, and Fernando Rodriguez, defender named for Pedro Buigas, a fugitive, went to the latter's house and when they arrived there they knocked on the door, but no one appeared and as the doors were closed with keys the Alcalde ordered the proceedings suspended until he could give the necessary decree.

On March 10, Alcalde Panis rules, that considering Pedro Buigas has abandoned his property he orders it deposited with Nicolas Canille, an immediate neighbor, in the interim he will hold it at the dispostion of the Court. Just below Mazange writes: Pursuant to the foregoing decree he delivered to Salvador Cunille the effects and merchandise belonging to Pedro Buigas as appears in the foregoing inventory, for which he gave a receipt in due form but did not sign as he does not know how to write.

On March 14, Francisco Muñoz, Warden of the prison, reported to Alcalde Panis that he holds Pedro Buigas and Juliana, a free negress as prisoners. Upon receipt of this information Panis condemns the two prisoners to serve fifteen days in jail and that Buigas pay now for the security of his property.

When the fifteen days have elapsed Pedro Buigas and Juliana ask to be released. Panis orders them liberated and Buigas' property restored to him on condition he give a receipt for it which he does in due form.

On Buigas' application the costs are taxed and amount to 38 pesos, 1 real.

March 27.
Pablo Azemar vs.
Joseph Pery (Thery).
No. 3466. 10 pp.
Court of Acting
Governor Piernas.
Assessor, Postigo.
Escribano, Mazange.
To collect a debt.

The suit is opened with three exhibits. The first a copy of a letter, dated Opelousas, December 15, 1780, written for Joseph Thery to Paul Azemar, a butcher in New Orleans. The second is dated New Orleans October 28, 1779, by Paul Azemar supposedly to Mr. Thery, referring to a debt, and the third, which is the basis of the suit is a certified copy of a notarial act of an obligation, dated New Orleans, July 20, 1780, by which Joseph Thery agrees to pay Pablo Azemar 1100 pesos in the following manner: 600 pesos in 6 months and the other 500 within another six months, all to be returned in the year. For the security of this debt he gives his plantation in Opelousas, measuring 5 arpents front by 40 deep, adjoined on one side by Luis Boisdore and on the other by Santiago Bregnac, besides he mortgages a negro named Hector.

Pablo Azemar alleges in his petition that it is evident Joseph Thery owes him 1100 pesos which was lent without premium, or interest, and solely as a favor. Of this debt 600 pesos are over due by two months and the remainder will be due July 20, of the present year. He prays for a writ of execution against all of the defendant's property for 600 pesos, its one tenth and costs. Piernas on Postigo's advice orders the writ of execution issued against the person and property of the defendant for 600 pesos the one tenth and costs caused or to be caused up to the real and effective payment. The writ is issued and served by Deputy Sheriff, Nicolas Fromentin, who reports he served the writ and Thery paid the debt immediately. A marginal note signed by Mazange April 4, 1781, states Pablo Azemar ordered a formal receipt drawn up in favor of Joseph Thery for 600 pesos. This ends the record.

(To be Continued)

BOOK REVIEWS

MEMORIES OF A SOUTHERN WOMAN OF LETTERS, BY GRACE KING. THE MACMILLAN COMPANY, 1932.

The title indicates the scope of this work. "Memories" but not all of them; neither is it a Memoir of the life and times. It is primarily confined to one interest of her life out of many, that of Literature or Letters. Many things that occupied the author during her long and happy life are necessarily left untouched or greatly minimized. She began to prepare this book at an age that precluded the intense labor incident to the presentation of the full story of a crowded life that had been in contact with every angle of the thought of the world and the contemporary interests of the place in which she lived. She realized that perhaps time would not grant the strength nor the publisher permit the (printed) space to write the full story. She therefore adopted deliberately the method of this book. Even at that those who were in her confidence know that between the first and the last draft of the manuscript, it was pared down to meet the exigencies of the situation.

Had Grace King written of her life and times we would have had a personal record, equal in every way to her *chef-d'oeuvre* NEW ORLEANS THE PLACE AND THE PEOPLE. She was not a survival of "the great days of New Orleans." She was the creator of the era she so dignified with her life that we think of it as the great days of old New Orleans, when in truth that era is still a living spirit, a part of us of today. She was a keen observer, she missed nothing that was happening in the great world outside her own home circle. Always a student and a thinker, she was mentally and physically a part of all the movements that pushed forward and magnified the times in which she lived.

She was constantly active and was free from the fear that her opinions might affect some "interest" or hurt the aspirations of some group. She belonged by nature and inheritance to that select circle where truth is sought for its own sake and judgment reached after full consideration. She was intolerant of error; she could not bear a fool in the sense of one who deceived himself or sought to deceive others on subjects where to her thinking there could be only one opinion.

Yet, she possessed a sweet forbearance. In the result, she often suffered mentally where she felt it would have been better to have made an end of it. With this temperament she possessed also an intense curiosity. She was eager to hear, to learn, to know, and she was a good listener. She loved to have about her the men and women who had a message, who could add to the source of her interest in life. One who entered that circle with a good story was sure of an auditor and was likely to get an equally good one from his hostess. Some of these stories have found space, have survived the economy that presided over the creation of this book. Her salon grew out of this phase of her life, a place that became an open forum, where sooner or later the great and the small had a hearing. This feature of yesterday in New Orleans brought her the title "great lady" not an antique or survivor, but a living spirit whose influence was all pervading.

In other days, the critic of this book would have called attention to a feature of Grace King's career that is not trumpeted in these pages. There are many references to father and mother and to the surroundings of her young life, but it is nevertheless palpable that in every respect, she was a self-made woman, as surely as this may be said of other successful careers built upon unpropitious beginnings. From the first step to the close of her working life she was the architect of her own fortunes. She literally built the bridges that carried her into the coveted land, the land of literature and letters. She took her place there with humility, unconscious that she had done anything unusual or extraordinary. We cannot find in ancestry, early association or school days that which would indicate the genuis that played over her mind and brought to fruition the masterpieces of literature that she left behind her. These things did not burst comet-like upon her life. They were the product of hard study, of long research and faithful labor. In this book she tells part of the story of the occasions and opportunities that brought them forth, and without egotism. She grew in strength and kept her feet upon the earth. She knew that her honors were the result of honest toil; they were the wages of success, but they sat easily and did not affect the grace and charm of her way of life.

We have by indirection indicated that this book is something more than "Memories"; it would not have been possible

for her full mind to produce a flat and careless record and every page reflects the light of her past. Sometimes it is the direct light of the sun; at others filtered through the high windows of her soul, and toward the close the shadows of evening, but we think it can best be described by recalling winter evenings in her hospitable library. Before an open fireplace, a topic would be started and another and another, the visitor would carry away distinct impressions, the pleasing voice, a word, a phrase, a thought, an incident, and quite often a definite opinion. The Memories represent an aggregation of many such evenings, differing only that chronology has put the remembrances in order and created a book that can be followed or dropped and taken up again always with new delight. A book, in short, that is Grace King in print, an old friend repeating some of the interesting happenings and remembrances of a useful fruitful and happy life.

Ed. La. Hist. Qy.

LES ACADIENS LOUISIANAIS ET LEUR PARLER. EDITED BY JAY K. DITCHY, TULANE UNIVERSITY, NEW ORLEANS. PARIS, E. DOOZ, 1932.

This work is a glossary of the spoken language of the Acadiens of Louisiana and of Canadian words incorporated into their local speech. It is preceded by a grammar containing a treatise upon the orthography, manners, usages, customs and popular beliefs or legends of lower Louisiana and it closes with a brief history of the dispersion of the Acadiens. It also includes a list of family names of those who came to Louisiana.

The Mss of this valuable work belongs to the Louisiana State Museum in New Orleans and is in its possession. We do not know the name of the compiler but it was evidently the work of one to the manner born and well versed in the matters covered by his labors. It was presented to the Museum many years ago by the late Chief Justice J. A. Breaux who was one time President of the Museum.

Its value in its mss shape was well recognized and it was used occasionally by students and others interested in the subject, but this use was necessarily limited because of the nature of the manuscript and the method employed in its composition.

The attention of Prof. Ditchy having been drawn to the manuscript, he studied it carefully and concluded that it deserved to be elucidated and put in shape for public use. His offer to do this work was accepted by the authorities of the Museum and the result is now before us in a well printed volume of 273 pages. The Editor has modestly minimized his labors, but the writer of this review can certify to the long hours of editorial labor, which produced this happy consummation.

The book is not a translation but a transcription in French of the somewhat confused and poorly digested matter of the original manuscript. In its present shape it is a scholarly and perfect rendition of the words and spirit of the original. Prof. Ditchy is to be congratulated on this unique contribution to the history and literature of Louisiana. It is more than doubtful that anything equal to it will ever again be printed. Indeed, we feel justified in saying that it is not only a unique, but also a remarkable work that must for all time serve as the foundation for a restudy and reappraisal of the contribution made by the Acadiens to the life, language, philosophy and folklore of Louisiana.

The book was printed in France, with the patronage of the Society for Publications "Romanes et Francaise" under the direction of Mario Rogues. Only a limited number of copies were allotted to the United States, because primarily the book was intended to take its place in the great libraries and collections of France and the Continent, a purpose redounding to the credit of Louisiana in all Europe. The limited supply in this country suggests that all persons interested in the subject (and there must be many hundreds in that category) should apply without delay to Prof. J. K. Ditchy, Tulane University, for information as to the price and delivery.

Ed. La. Hist. Qy.

GUIDE TO MATERIAL FOR AMERICAN HISTORY IN THE LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES OF PARIS, BY WALDO G. LELAND, VOL. I LIBRARIES. PUBLISHED BY THE CARNEGIE INSTITUTION OF WASHINGTON, D. C., 1932.

This monumental work is one of the results of years of patient labor conducted under the auspices of the Carnegie Institute of Washington in the field of American History preserved in great masses of unpublished primary source material in the archives and libraries of those countries that had been active in exploring and colonizing the new world and particularly the fields now comprised within the United States. This work of the representatives of the Institution has already opened to Louisiana a vast number of documents covering our French Era. Some 20,000 of these relating to the history of the Mississippi Valley have been calendered in the two volume *"Calendar of Manuscripts in Paris Archives and Libraries Relating to the History of the Mississippi Valley to 1803,"* edited by Mrs. N. M. Miller Surrey and issued by the Department of Historical Research of the Carnegie Institution in a planographed edition (1926-1928). The pages of the Quarterly during many years have been illuminated by documents made available to us by this comprehensive calendar.

Other similar compilations have been printed and now comes the GUIDE which will be followed by two or three more, the purpose of which will be to sweep into print all the notes or material on the subject gathered during the years of research and not treated in the many books that have been printed while the work was going on. It is unnecessary to add that the GUIDE is not only a complement to these preceding volumes but it is absolutely a work that cannot be neglected by all who have been and will be drawn to the study of the sources of the history of Louisiana.

Ed., La. Hist. Qy.

FRANCE d'AMERIQUE, BY SIMONE DE LA S. DELERY AND GLADYS ANNE RENSHAW, ILLUSTRATED BY DAGMAR RENSHAW LE BRETON.

This book is printed in French, and is a compilation by two ladies of Louisiana and residents of New Orleans whose ability to do such work was well established before entering upon this task. The illustrator is also by birth and scholarship equal to her part in this charming volume. It is published by the University of Chicago Press, Illinois, 1932, and is a valuable contribution to the literature of Louisiana.

It is compressed into 219 pages, including the French-English vocabulary. Well printed, well arranged, full of interest in the matter of its contents and illustrations, this little miscellany of extracts garnered from the French writings of other authors,—ancient and modern,—has for its laudable purpose the presentation to advance students in High School and the student in the first years of College, something of the part played by the French in the development of Continental North America. The collection is chosen for the most part from works written in French, although one is Swiss, another Canadian and many Louisiana. The latter were found in the Archives of Louisiana, in the libraries of New Orleans and in special collections. Divided into five parts, its contents cover a miscellaneous variety of subject-matter; important historical dates of Louisiana; descriptions of the country; the Ancien Regime, with its French influence, its Creole cooking, etc.; all things of French character surviving into the present time; and finally the country of Evangeline or Acadian Louisiana is given due recognition. One only regrets that in compiling the bibliography of Louisiana, the authors did not list the work of certain modern writers on Louisiana, so that their student readers might have a ready reference to guide them to future research into the delightful subject of ancient Louisiana. But this detracts in no way from the value and merit of this product of New Orleans scholarship. E. D. P.